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ABSTRACT

The cultural and gender factors affecting the experience of Latino/Latina graduate students in the United States are examined. An introductory section offers background information on Latino participation in higher education, drawing on some recent literature, and on the Council of Graduate Schools' Latino Project, a qualitative ethnographic study to explore the current status of Latinos in graduate study and their experiences as graduate students. Data were drawn from semi-structured interviews with Latino administrators (n=12), faculty (n=23), graduate students (n=31), and non-academics (n=11) representing a cross-section of ethnicity, national origin, gender, generation, region, and institution type. Results are summarized in terms of the personal backgrounds, ethnicity, family, and education of respondents. Also discussed are the nuances of ethnicity and national origin, impact of family on higher education, and preconditioning for graduate education. A subsequent section presents results concerning respondents' graduate student experience, including their motivation, the application process, the adjustment process, and student transitions and completion of graduate study. Advice and recommendations are then offered for enhancing the graduate experiences for Latino students, including students' advice to other students. A list of the institutions attended by the respondents is appended. (Contains 27 references.) (MSE)

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ENHANCING THE MINORITY PRESENCE IN GRADUATE EDUCATION VII:

LATINO EXPERIENCES IN GRADUATE EDUCATION: IMPLICATIONS FOR CHANGE

A Preliminary Report

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ENHANCING THE MINORITY PRESENCE IN GRADUATE EDUCATION VII:

LATINO EXPERIENCES IN GRADUATE EDUCATION: IMPLICATIONS FOR CHANGE

A Preliminary Report

Robert A. Ibarra
Dean in Residence, 1994-1995

COUNCIL OF GRADUATE SCHOOLS
with Support From The Ford Foundation

Enhancing the Minority Presence in Graduate Education VII:

LATINO EXPERIENCES IN GRADUATE EDUCATION: IMPLICATIONS FOR CHANGE

A Preliminary Report

Nancy A. Gaffney, Editor

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Foreword i

Acknowledgements ii

Introduction 1

The Project and the People 6

SECTION I: Personal Backgrounds: Ethnicity, Family and Education 10
- The Nuance of Ethnicity and National Origin 10
- The Impact of the Family on Higher Education 20
- Preconditioning for Graduate Education 24

SECTION II: The Graduate School Experience 27
- Motivation: Academics, Careers, Ethnicity 27
- Getting In: The Process of Application 31
- Getting On: The Process of Adjustment 35
- Metamorphosis: Graduate School Transitions and Completion 43

SECTION III: Enhancing the Graduate Experience: Advice and Recommendations 59

Final Comments 70

Appendix: Master's and Doctoral Degree Granting Institutions Attended by Participants in the Latino Project 72

References 73

FOREWORD

The Latino population in the United States is growing rapidly, and if current estimates are correct, will soon be the second largest population of Latinos and Latinas in the world. Latino participation in higher education has been increasing dramatically, but Latinos still represent a small percentage of graduate students, faculty, and academic administrators. Although data relating to Latinos in graduate education is available, relatively little is known about the aspirations, perceptions, and attitudes of this diverse group concerning graduate education.

In this book, we recognize and explore the cultural diversity as well as the gender differences that seem to play a major role in determining the nature of the graduate experience for many Latinos. Robert Ibarra, a cultural anthropologist and Dean-in-Residence at CGS, has conducted extensive interviews with seventy-seven individuals: students, former students, faculty, administrators, and others who represent the various cultures that comprise the broad term "Latino." Their views have been brought together and expanded upon by the author, who provides suggestions and recommendations arising from the study for the improvement of graduate education.

We believe this book will be of great value to a wide variety of readers: faculty and administrators in higher education, Latino students and prospective students, and, more broadly, anyone interested in understanding the relationship between the cultures of graduate education and the cultures of those who participate in it.

Jules B. LaPidus
President, CGS
Spring, 1996

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I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. Edgar Beckham and the Ford Foundation for not only providing the grant support to make the project a reality, but also for allowing me the opportunity to share the research with other scholars. My deepest appreciation goes to Jules B. LaPidus, President of the Council of Graduate Schools, for reading and editing the project proposal and final drafts and for supporting the study from inception to completion. Finally, a special "Grácias" goes to the many Latinos and Latinas who gave their time and shared their lives with me to bring the project to life and make this study meaningful.

Comments and feedback are appreciated and should be directed to the author, Robert Ibarra, via CGS e-mail at: publications@cgs.nche.edu

INTRODUCTION

A disproportionate number of the Latino[1] populations in the U.S. do not enter graduate school and of those who do, even fewer become professors or senior administrators. One wonders why. What is occurring, or not occurring, that results in this situation? Is there anything different about this group's experiences than that of other "minority" groups? If so, what are they, and what are the implications for graduate schools? Questions such as these formed the core of a qualitative study to find answers. Numerous interviews were conducted, and the answers were found in the voices of the participants.

> **Do you have any insights about attracting Latinos to academe?**[2]
> Graciela, a Latina professor responded: "I think if you want to be active on issues in graduate education, especially today, Latinos, as well as those interested in the issues, have to be pro-active. They have to go out and do some homework and see what's going to attract them and what's going to keep them in school. You can't think that it just happens automatically. I say that based on my experience. For example, if you're going to recruit Latinos to come to your school, even with a grant program, you send out ten thousand notices, you recruit because you know people, and you pick up the phone to the sources and you let the word out. That's being active. But you don't just let the announcements go out; you also have to do something pro-active. In the American way, you recruit by sending out flyers and by [telling people] we're a great program and even [tell them] there's money. But if you want to make opportunities happen for programs, in which you want to attract certain kinds of people, then you've got to add more to it than that. You've got to fine tune your activities. It means you've got to know how the Latino world moves and then hit it personally. It means that together with your information system, you've got to use the Latino network systems in some way. I think I have learned that about recruiting in the graduate program . . . ."

She was right on target. First, to attract Latinos and Latinas, graduate schools may need to be more pro-active. That is, learning how "the Latino world moves" through higher education, and following from that, discern the specific ethnic groups within this world in order to better understand the implication of culture on this process.

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[1]The Spanish term "Latino" refers to people representing a superset of nationalities originating from, or having a heritage related to, Latin America. Most participants in the study preferred "Latino" over the English term "Hispanic" as a pan-national identifier. For linguistic consistency and ease of reading, the generic term "Latino" will be used here and will represent both Latinas and Latinos.

[2]Interviewer questions will be in bold print throughout the transcripts. Names and some identifying information have been changed to protect anonymity. Direct quotes indicate respondent dialog.

At present, very little is known about Latinos in graduate education. Few qualitative studies exist about the experiences of Latino graduate students and those typically focus on specific subpopulations of Latinos (*e.g.*, Cuádraz: 1992, 1993; Gándara: 1982, 1993). No one yet had sampled the variety of Latino groups in this country to ask individuals what they experienced in graduate school. This became the aim of the Latino Research Project and the focus of this monograph.

According to 1993 U.S. Census figures, Latinos number more than 22 million and represent approximately nine percent of the total U.S. population. The Latino population increased 53 percent since 1980, which is more than seven times the total U.S. population growth over the last decade. If estimates hold true, the number of Latinos in the U.S. will grow to 31 million by the year 2000 and to 60 million by 2025. These projections indicate rapid growth toward becoming the second largest population of Latinos and Latinas in the world (Hodgkinson & Outtz, 1996; O'Brien, 1993). This growth suggests a potentially large number of Latinos could be entering our colleges and universities in the near future. However, an overview of current conditions reveals Latinos are underrepresented throughout higher education in proportion to their population.

While the Latino presence in higher education increased 84 percent over the last decade, that growth represents only a scant six percent of total enrollment today. During the same period graduate schools experienced similar patterns in the number of Latinos earning doctoral degrees. For example, between 1982 and 1992, Latinos receiving doctorates increased by 41 percent; but that number represents barely three percent of all new doctorates today. Increases in the percentages of Ph.D.s awarded over the last decade also varied by ethnic group. For instance, among Puerto Ricans the numbers earning doctorates rose 54 percent, Mexican American doctorates increased only 13 percent, while for "Other Latinos"[3] the number of doctorates rose 57 percent, (ACE, 1994:3; Ottinger, Sikula, & Washington, 1993:2). There is one hopeful sign. Data collected on Latino GRE test takers show that 48 percent of the Puerto Ricans and 54 percent of the Mexican Americans plan to be employed in higher education (Grandy, 1994).

Despite some encouraging signs, current figures look dismal for Latinos entering careers in higher education. In 1991, only four percent of all full-time employees in higher education were Latinos, and of them only two percent were full-time faculty. These numbers barely increased by one percentage point over the last 10 years. One

[3]The terms "Other Latinos" or "Other Hispanics" are frequently used on official forms to refer to Latinos from Central and South America, the Caribbean (excluding Puerto Rico), and even Spain. Except for this instance, the term "Other Latinos" will refer to those in the study who do not identify as Mexican American, Puerto Rican, or Cuban. Terms for U.S. ethnic populations will not be hyphenated in this publication.

discouraging fact is that fewer Latino faculty are tenured than any other cohort of full-time faculty. While 70 percent of all faculty were tenured, only 61 percent of Latino faculty were tenured in 1991 (O'Brien, 1993). This represents a decline of about four percentage points over the last 10 years (Carter & Wilson, 1995). Latino professors are clustered in the Humanities, Education, and Social Sciences with only a handful, about one percent of the total, in the Natural Sciences (Culotta, 1993). Researchers suggest that increasing the number of minority doctorates and retaining them as professors, especially as scientists, should be an important goal for higher education (Culotta, 1993; Brown, Clewell, Ekstrom, Goertz, & Powers, 1994; O'Brien, 1993).

Figures on Latino administrators in higher education are also disturbing. Despite the fact that over the last decade three out of every five Latino Ph.D.s indicated a commitment to academic employment each year, only a small number of them became administrators (Carter & O'Brien, 1993). In 1991, less than three percent of all full-time administrators in higher education were Latino, representing an increase of only two percentage points since 1981. Of the 2,423 college presidents in the U.S., only 94 are Latino and they tended to be affiliated with Hispanic-Serving Institutions (HSIs). As the data show, little progress has been achieved in producing Latino and Latina faculty or administrators over the last 10 years (O'Brien, 1993).

Clearly, Latinos are not entering academe in significant numbers. The problem may stem from a conflict of cultures. Until recently, college and university faculty were generally regarded as predominantly white male preserves where minority students had difficulty establishing relationships necessary to progress in academic careers. Though this picture is changing, Latino students, like other minority students, may find academic cultures unappealing, or encounter too many barriers to pursuing academic careers. Looking beyond generalizations, the ethnic diversity of Latino populations may hold a key to unmasking the reasons why so few enter academic careers. Studying and comparing the experiences of the various Latino groups in the context of academic cultures in graduate education brings to the surface important problems overlooked in the past.*

Research on academic cultures is growing, but the dynamics involving different ethnic populations interacting in traditional academic institutions is not yet fully understood (see Tierney, 1990). Simply defined, organizational culture is a construct of "deeply embedded patterns of organizational behavior and the shared values, assumptions, beliefs, or ideologies that members have about their organization or its work" (Peterson & Spencer, 1990:3). These values and behaviors are passed down from one generation of academics to the next through formal and informal methods of teaching and demonstration. The concepts are complex, variable, and cannot be fully examined here. However, within academic organizational culture there are a number of arenas within which cultural interactions occur, such as the academic department, the school or college, the institution, and even the academic discipline, to name a few.

Thus, within an organization there is not a single culture, but rather a constellation of cultures or more accurately, subcultures influencing the social system. If students are reacting to the patterns of shared behavior and values in academe, then the issue to be explored is the gap or conflict between the existing cultures or subcultures of academe and the cultural diversity of subgroups with different national origins.

One source of this cultural gap is the misconception, on campuses, about Latino cultures. Perceived by majority populations as a homogeneous group and labeled with the generic term "Hispanic," Latinos are frequently lumped together with other minority groups. In reality, ethnic homogenization or aggregation is a two-way street in that all ethnic groups on occasion fall into this descriptive trap simply because it is a convenient way to refer to diverse populations. This is the nature of ethnic group dynamics. Some anthropologists view ethnic groups as discrete cultural units with boundaries which persist despite interchange between groups and individuals on the outside. Ethnic distinctions depend on this interchange for identity even though it is the boundary which defines the group and not the cultural content. The ethnic boundary is a result of a complex organization of social behaviors and relations which may have been initiated as adaptive strategies. The process of this institutionalization is embedded in the activity of transaction and decision-making among individuals or groups of individuals who have been successful in utilizing their ethnicity and ethnic group as a resource in adapting to the larger society. Ethnicity, then, is the outcome of group boundary maintenance reflecting differences in national origin and perhaps adaptive strategies as well (Barth in Ibarra, 1976:28). Individuals enveloped by these cultural boundaries frequently misunderstand other ethnic groups by perceiving them as monolithic and homogeneous.

But the issue here is not focused on the disaggregation of ethnic groups *per se*. It is instead centered on the concern about the negative consequences of lumping ethnic groups, especially underrepresented ones in higher education, into generic ethnic categories and developing programmatic initiatives for them based upon inaccurate assumptions. Unfortunately, data on Latinos in higher education "are rarely collected or disaggregated by ethnic groups, even though significant differences exist between these groups" (O'Brien, 1993:1). Merging data into categories such as "minority", "Hispanic" or even "Latino" subsumes a great diversity of people and cultures, conceals important differences between these diverse subgroups, and leads to dubious inferences about Latinos in general.

Quantitative research relying on questionnaire surveys and datasets, even that disaggregated by subgroups of different national origin, is only one step toward unraveling Latino diversity (see Brown, 1988; Nettles, 1990; Zwick, 1991). Such studies can be likened to analyzing footprints on a sandy beach. One can gather a great deal of information about what people were doing, but very little can be concluded about why they behaved that way. Ethnographic studies, which rely on personal contacts and

open-ended interview techniques, complement statistical analysis (see Clewell, 1987). Qualitative research, therefore, is needed to fill in behavioral information missing from quantitative studies.

There is a growing concern within colleges and universities about the lack of diversity among faculty and staff, especially among predominantly white institutions. During a recent conference on minorities in graduate education, (Brown, *et al.* 1994), participants set a specific agenda for future research. They agreed on the need for more qualitative studies, and especially the importance of learning more about Latino subpopulations and data disaggregation. Participants also stressed the need to learn more about faculty attitudes, behaviors and career paths of minorities who obtain doctorates. One Latino scholar recommended "future research should examine those coping mechanisms, survival strategies and other individual and institutional factors that affect, both positively and negatively, [the Latino] undergraduate, graduate, and postgraduate experience" (Solorzano, 1995:27).

In this context, there are a number of questions to be explored. For example, what influences Latinos to choose academic or non-academic careers? What role does ethnicity play in this process? What are the factors, coping mechanisms and survival strategies for successfully completing an advanced degree? Are they different for Latinos than for others? Moreover, are they different for subgroups within the Latino population itself? How do the cultures of academic institutions, disciplines, and departments affect the passage through graduate school and beyond? What are the experiences of "nonpersisters" who have yet to complete the degree? Why are so few Latinos entering academia? Finally, do Latinos encounter unique situations in establishing a faculty or administrative career? The answers have important implications for developing initiatives that encourage Latinos into higher education.

THE PROJECT AND THE PEOPLE

The Latino Project began with several research objectives; first, to provide a starting point for disaggregating data between subgroups with different national origins, the project would interview a variety of Latinos and Latinas both during and after their graduate experience. Thus, it would become a benchmark for future qualitative research on other ethnic-specific underrepresented populations. Second, the project would uncover patterns in graduate education to help guide institutions in improving recruitment and retention programs for minority students, faculty and staff. Finally, the project would highlight strategies for success. Stories from successful Latinos and Latinas would offer encouragement to potential students to pursue advanced degrees and provide advice for avoiding some of the pitfalls in the process. The study ultimately would explore crucial questions regarding the Latino experience in graduate education, the academic cultures of graduate schools, and the factors leading to establishing a faculty or administrative career.

This project, supported by the Council of Graduate Schools and funded by a grant from the Ford Foundation, is a qualitative ethnographic study based on semi-structured interviews conducted with selected samples of Latino faculty, administrators and graduate students working on master's or doctoral degrees. Some interviews were conducted with individuals, categorized as "non-academics," who either left academe, never entered it, or selected educational careers in non-university/college settings. All interviews were conducted by the author either in person or by telephone and tape recorded between December 1994 and June 1995. A total of 77 individuals were interviewed with the understanding their identities would not be revealed. Sixty-seven were individual interviews lasting 90 minutes or more. The remaining 10 were graduate students who took part in small focus-group interviews conducted at Arizona State University and the University of Texas-Austin. All interviews were conducted in English with only a few participants responding in Spanish during portions of their interview. Though the size of the interview pool is not adequate for conducting statistical tests, the information is exceptionally rich for qualitative analysis. Thus quantified data compiled on respondents may not necessarily reflect the patterns of Latinos in the larger population. However, the data here support and underscore the issues revealed by the collective voice from respondents.

Interviewees were selected to reflect, as much as possible, a cross-section of ethnicity (Mexican American, Puerto Rican, Cuban American, "Other Latinos"), national origin (Mexico, Cuba, Costa Rica, *etc.*), gender, generation, region (Southeast, Southwest, West, East and Midwest), type of graduate institution (large Research I Universities, small master's only, *etc.*), discipline (social sciences, humanities and natural sciences) and cohort group (students, faculty, administrators and non-academics). The study group consisted of 41 males and 36 females. Of the four cohort

groups, there were 31 Students, 23 Faculty, 12 Administrators, and 11 Non-academics. Considering ethnicity and national origin, there were 41 Mexican Americans, four of whom were born in Mexico; 16 Puerto Ricans, among whom half were from the island; 12 Cuban Americans, including seven from Cuba; and eight "Other Latinos" from the following origins: three from Costa Rica (including one international student), one each from Colombia, Venezuela, the Dominican Republic, California/Spanish American, and New Mexico/Spanish American. The last two individuals trace their ancestry to the original Spanish land-grant families over 200 years ago and do not immediately identify as Mexican Americans.

A brief demographic profile shows the age range of respondents spans almost five full decades beginning with the 1930s. The majority[4] were born between 1940 and 1960, with many born during the 1950s. Almost half were currently married or with a life partner, and about the same number were similarly united during their graduate experience. All but one in the project were U.S. citizens, although 20 percent were immigrants who have become naturalized U.S. citizens. Almost half were first generation U.S. citizens, that is, native born with both parents born outside the continental U.S. The immigrant and first generation groups made up the majority of the interview pool. Nearly a quarter of the respondents were second generation, (one or both parents born in the continental U.S.), and only a few were third generation or more. The majority of respondents were from predominantly immigrant or first generation backgrounds. However, within each group only half the Mexican Americans, and most of the Puerto Ricans, Cubans and "Other Latinos", were from first or immigrant generations.

Because there are so few Latinos and Latinas in graduate school, and even fewer faculty and staff, interviewees were selected by a variety of processes, none of which were rigorous in their scientific randomness. A primary goal was to sample populations by region. For example, Mexican Americans were targeted specifically in the Western and Southwestern states of California, Arizona, New Mexico, or Texas, but a few from the East Coast and the Midwest also were interviewed. Puerto Ricans were selected to include those born and raised on the island as well as in U.S. mainland locations such as New York, New Jersey, Washington, D.C. and Florida. Cubans were sought primarily in Miami, Florida, but were encountered while scheduling interviews throughout the country. "Other Latino" populations were selected through the process of identifying interviewees for the project and were not chosen on the basis of national origin.

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[4]Specific verbal quantifiers will be used to denote relative size of a group of respondents who expressed particular perspectives or described similar experiences. These quantifiers are: "a few" = up to 10%, "some" = 10 to 25%, "many" = 25 to 50%, "a majority" = 50 to 75%, "most" = 75 to 90%, and "virtually all" = 90% or more. This format is fashioned after a similar model used by the LEAD Center at the University of Wisconsin-Madison .

For the most part, graduate school administrators and individuals from various private organizations (*e.g.*, the National Research Center, The Ford Fellowships for Minorities Program, the Hispanic Outlook in Higher Education, the American Council of Education, the Smithsonian Institution) assisted in locating participants for interviews. Interviewees helped to identify others. Only one unsolicited individual was interviewed without a referral. Interviewees were selected if they fit a particular research variable, or type of Latino population, but were not selected because they underwent either a particularly pleasant or unpleasant experience in graduate school. In general, students came from a variety of backgrounds and when interviewed were at all stages in their degree program. Among faculty and administrators were those both new and tenured, as well as seasoned graduate deans, vice chancellors and even presidents of institutions.

As mentioned previously, most Latinos are clustered in the Humanities, Education, and Social Science disciplines. Forty-two percent of the study group completed either their master's or doctoral degree, or both, in the Social Sciences, followed by Education with 23 percent, Humanities with 16 percent, and the biological and physical sciences at about 10 percent and nine percent respectively. The percentages by discipline within each ethnic group follow roughly the same pattern. A list of institutions where interviewees received their degrees is located in the appendix. It is interesting to note that 58 percent of the administrators interviewed received their degree in the Humanities; 65 percent of the faculty and 39 percent of the students took their degrees in the Social Sciences; and among non-academics, 36 percent, the largest number, held a degree in Education.

Nineteen interviewees had either completed only a master's degree or were currently working on the degree. Of those, 13 were expecting to complete by 1996. Six of these individuals did not want to seek the doctorate while another two were unsure if they would pursue one. Those not planning to return for a doctoral degree were either involved in their careers, pursuing other goals, or were females who felt it would take too much time and money away from their families. Among the remaining 58 interviewees, 42 completed a Ph.D., 17 had doctoral programs in progress and all but two of them expected to finish by 1998. Although a number of students were at least ten years out from their master's degrees, only one of them felt she would not likely finish her doctoral degree.

For individual interviews, a primary set of 70 questions were developed to obtain information on personal background, education (K-12 through undergraduate), and graduate education. Faculty, administrators and non-academics with full-time careers were asked additional sets of questions depending on career path after graduate school. The two student focus groups responded to a consistent but much smaller subset of the 70 primary questions. Depending on circumstances, some questions were expanded or modified during the interviews. If these provided new information they

were added to succeeding interviews.

From the beginning, the project struck a responsive chord among participants. They were eager to tell their stories and to reveal their life experiences with honesty and openness, through laughter and tears. Their unusual candor may be attributed in part to the fact that the researcher is Latino, and in part to a personal commitment to help others. Almost everyone felt their interview helped put their graduate experience into clearer and sometimes new perspectives. Elated by this, many implored that their stories be told in their own voices in order to inspire others and dispel some prevalent stereotypes. This volume honors those requests but protects their anonymity by changing their names and masking certain information.

The interviews revealed remarkable personal insights into the graduate school experience. Utilizing an individual case study format (*i.e.*, life histories) was simply not the most effective way to capture the variety of perspectives. Hence, the reader will encounter sometimes extended discussions about selected questions and issues relevant to both graduate school in general and Latino culture specifically. Some attempt has been made to differentiate between ethnic and even gender differences, but this was not always possible. There are no equivalent benchmark studies or control groups to differentiate between Latino experiences and the experiences of any other population in graduate education. Consequently, many events may be relevant to other ethnic populations as well as to graduate students in general.

The essential point is these are experiences of Latinos in graduate education. They are fast becoming the largest ethnic population in the U.S. and yet we have very little information about them in higher education. While readers may not always agree with the comments and perceptions presented here, these are the voices of students, academics, and non-academics reflecting upon their graduate experiences and how they believe it affected them. The consensus about their experiences seems to validate their perceptions and provide a starting point for discussing and reassessing graduate education in general.

The interviews also yielded a greater depth and breadth of information than anticipated and more material was collected than can be presented in this short publication. Therefore, this report focuses on only three areas: Section I, personal backgrounds, Section II, the graduate school experience, and finally, Section III, advice and recommendations from participants. It discusses trends and patterns sifted out by categorizing responses and calculating frequencies. References and analysis will be kept to a minimum, leaving a rich body of information and comparative research for a future and more extensive publication.

SECTION I: PERSONAL BACKGROUNDS: ETHNICITY, FAMILY AND EDUCATION

THE NUANCE OF ETHNICITY AND NATIONAL ORIGIN

"My identity depends on who I'm talking to. . . ." Marta, a Chicana administrator

In 1977 the federal government officially designated the term "Hispanic" as "a person of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Central or South American or other Spanish culture or origin, regardless of race." This oversimplified definition cannot grasp the diversity of Latino ethnic identity. Among such rapidly growing populations, new definitions emerge as cultures change and adapt to opportunities and challenges in their environment. Consequently, Latino ethnicity is confusing to many, including Latinos. Throughout the U.S., Latinos are grappling with their own ethnic identity, and there are heated debates over preferred terms and definitions. Latino identity is loaded with political implications continually being redefined both at the core and at the boundaries of each group. However, to comprehend the Latino graduate experience more fully, it is essential to observe the nuance of cultures from within.

Some patterns emerged from the variety of responses when asked, "How do you identify yourself ethnically?" In general, ethnic terms reflected social/cultural context and individual preference. For instance, Central and South Americans, (in general categorized as "Other Hispanics"), as well as many Cubans, identified themselves generically as "Hispanic" or "Latino" rather than Americans with hyphenated heritage tags. People with mixed ethnic background preferred generic identity markers such as "Hispanic" or "Latino." As one student responded:

> "Hispanic; I'm not sure. Hispanic American. I was born here but my heritage is certainly Hispanic. My parents are both Cubans, my grandparents are all either Cuban or Spanish, except for one grandparent who is Lebanese."

From Juliana, a social science professor with Southwestern roots, came the following:

> "As Hispanic. I have found that this is the safest label . . . That way I don't have to explain to people all sorts of things. I still find having to explain the last name because they see it's very Anglicized and they see me and I'm not at all what they expect. So I hear, 'How come you're that? Is it your husband?'. . . No that was my father . . . 'What are you?' . . . I'm mixed. It's still confusing to people but the Hispanic label is the easiest for them to understand because it's broad and inclusive and I have to do a lot less explaining that way."

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"Other Latinos" felt their identity was either too complicated to explain or was frequently confused with international connections: ". . .[w]*hen I say I'm Cuban American, people get confused and think I was born in Cuba. So what I often say now is that my family is Cuban.*" Annoyed by constant explanations, some found it convenient to identify as a Latino or Hispanic. According to one professor, "*I'm a Cuban American, I'm also Hispanic or Latino. I use the two words interchangeably. Why? Because I don't think we have a lot of time to waste worrying about the nuances of the definitions, even when I write proposals. For one* [proposal] *I use Hispanic, then* [for another], *Latino.*"

No interviewee self-identified as being simply "American." However, Luis was the only respondent without an initial Latino identity marker when he answered:

> "As a mutt." **What does that mean?** "I feel like I'm just white Anglo Saxon. . . . [W]here I grew up it was very White Anglo[5], upper middle class and all my friends were such. I don't know anything different. I did grow up speaking Spanish. That's my first language but it seems like a long time ago. I speak Spanish fluently but my education and most of my friends are all Anglo. But I don't look Hispanic and most people don't treat me as being Hispanic until they hear my name then they might ask a question. I know I have different types of backgrounds in me. Its actually Spanish, Cuban, and I think there's some English somewhere in there. **So if somebody asks about your Latino background what would it be?** I would say Cuban American."

Both Luis' and Juliana's comments reflect the problems encountered by Latinos who do not exhibit certain ethnic markers. For example, last names and language can be used as outward signals of ethnic identity. Even among Latinos there exists an "ethnic hierarchy," a complex mosaic of culture and ethnicity with which many Latinos must contend. Described as an "internal ranking system," the hierarchy is an informal sorting out of individuals by ethnicity, physical appearance, class and other socio-cultural factors. Since this issue is rarely discussed outside Latino circles, non-Latinos often miss the implications. However, it has enormous importance for Latinos struggling with their identities in a society which frequently stereotypes "Hispanics" as caricatures of Mexican or Mexican American culture. Juliana describes her personal experiences and analysis:

> "I really became aware of the internal ranking in the Hispanic community when I participated in the national . . . program for graduate students and I was one of about forty from around the country. . . . There were Cubans and Puerto Ricans and Mexicans and Hispanics

[5]The term "Anglo", according to the American Heritage Dictionary, is a shortened version of "Anglo American" and refers to any white resident of the U. S. who is not of Latino descent.

> and Spanish, Chicanos, every label you could think of. And interestingly enough with these forty people, this ranking system occurred. . . . 'Do you speak Spanish? How well do you speak Spanish? What region of the country are you from? How dark are you?' Not, 'how light are you,' which is what I find here [in Texas]. The lighter [skin color] you are the better you fit in, not how dark you are . . . 'Do you really look Hispanic, do you really look Chicano?' It was very interesting dynamics. . . . . I have tried to identify the variables, academic mentality of the language, how well you speak Spanish . . . the more the better, so if you are a Puerto Rican and Cuban and you're fluent, it's great. If you're from New Mexico and you speak what is referred to as 'Hillbilly Spanish', then you lose a little bit of ranking. The last name; 'Are you Martinez, are you García or are you Brown or [Smith]?' So the last name becomes a variable to surname. 'Is the first name María or is it [Sarah]?'
>
> Names, your physical appearance, and your phenotype . . . 'Do you look European, do you have lighter skin, do you have blue eyes, blond hair or do you look Mexican . . .? How much education you have depends on which group you're with. If I'm with the Mexican American community here they don't really want to know about your credentials. They want to know . . . 'Can you do things for us in the social service community?' If I'm with academicians . . . 'How much education do you have, and where did you get your education?'. . . . So it's really an interesting process of where in this ranking system you fall. Seeing that internal ranking really changed my perception of dealing with other Hispanics and dealing with the mainstream [society] because of what mainstream [society] expects."

Cuban Americans

Cubans or Cuban Americans have a unique history relating to post-refugee experiences. Combined with deep-seated animosity toward the Castro regime, and a long standing desire to return to a liberated homeland, Cuban Americans, especially in Miami, readily admit they are different from other Latino groups in the U.S. Even among themselves, they are perceived as economically and politically successful as the dominant culture influencing the Miami area (see Portes & Stepick, 1993). For example, Luis and Julio openly discuss their unique community and Cuban culture:

> Luis: "You're going to get different perspectives from different people, but if you sit down with city leaders and so forth, the Cuban population and the Cuban people are very successful in the business community. They are prevalent in every single industry in Miami, in import/export, in banking, the president of the Bank is a Cuban American, the attorneys many of them are Cubans."
>
> According to Julio, another Cuban American student: "Miami is a very good town to be in if you're Latino if only because there's a

> ready acceptance of customs, of ways of dealing abrasively with people, ways of getting things done, ways of interacting. I don't want to over generalize, but most of the Latinos that I have been involved with have a much more personal way of dealing with situations. They would much rather talk to you face to face than call you over the phone or fax you. That may be a Latino influence to a great degree. It's a continuing influx, the city is not growing as much as it was but much of the growth that it still has is not Anglo. It's Latino, so it's only going to become more accommodating for Latinos who either immigrate here from other cities or from other countries. I think if there is an issue . . . there is the perception that Cuban Americans just network and support their own people and want only Cuban Americans to be hired. I think there's that sense of exclusivity, but there are other issues between Cuban Americans, political issues. And the litmus test is where you stand [politically] on Cuba. . . ."
>
> ". . .[M]ost Cuban families are very, very tight knit, they keep in touch continually, and only with great reluctance do Cuban families move apart to other cities. I don't know why that is but . . . ninety percent of my family lives in Miami. Only a very small percentage of my family . . . live in L.A. Everybody else lives in Miami so everybody is in ready contact with everybody else. In terms of the cultural support system it's omnipresent here. That's the biggest opportunity I think. I think trying to get any sort of preferential treatment because you're Latino in Miami is just . . . give it up! There is no vehicle for it, there is none of this 'need to redress past ills' or 'make up for any past discrimination' in this town. Because this town has grown so fast and grown largely because of the Latino influence that anything like that would just be laughed at. It's funny, the worst thing you could do is do something to the Latino community down here. This lady went down to Cuba and all the news stories picked up her kissing Castro on the cheek, and the Cuban community is nothing if not rabid about its anti-Castro position, so she basically has no life down here anymore."

Julios' comment about "preferential treatment" is an important point underscored by some Cuban participants. To expect special treatment as a minority implies victimization, injustice, and second class status, which, to them, seems not to be a part of Cuban culture. Indeed, many Cubans revealed it was upon entering higher education that they first "became a minority." A portion of those felt marginalized as graduate students, and a significant number offered unpleasant stories about the stigma of becoming a "minority professor." In general, most of the Cubans interviewed were secure in their identities and exuded self-confidence rooted in their strong ethnic community. According to some Cuban Americans, polarization exists in the community along political lines, but it is not considered a significant factor in their lives, and has yet to disturb the fabric of Cuban American ethnicity.

Puerto Ricans

In contrast, Mexican American and Puerto Rican respondents showed signs of some ethnic polarization derived from intense socio-political struggles within the dominant U.S. culture. One reaction was a strong preference for using ethnic-specific terms. Another respondent remarked how he disliked the labels "Hispanic," or even "Latino," for they tend to water down and diminish cultural identities. On the surface, Puerto Ricans seemed consistent about their identity. When asked, most declared "Puerto Rican." When questioned further, they clarified their origins as either from the island or the mainland (born in the continental U.S.).

> **Do you consider yourself a mainland Puerto Rican or an island Puerto Rican?** Martín: "I've lived here [U.S. mainland] most of my life but because I came here very firm in my identity and have gone back a lot and have maintained my family connection there; I consider myself an island Puerto Rican who lives in the States." **Does that mean different identities for Puerto Ricans?** "Not for me as much as it does for other people. For me I'm secure in that identity. I would be Puerto Rican in Ithaca, New York, in China, or the North Pole. Most Americans view the world in vary dichotomous terms, us and them, this and that, and we have to choose our identities. For people who think that way, I'm expected to be a mainland Puerto Rican on the continent. Geographically that's true, but my identity is island bound, there's no question about it."

Despite growing popularity in some areas of the U.S., the term "Nuyorican," is highly controversial and for some Puerto Ricans offensive. Referring to a Puerto Rican from the New York area, the term attempts to distinguish between mainland and island populations. *"On the island,"* according to one island Puerto Rican, *"the term was originally used to indicate people of lower social economic class, with basically different standards in terms of their ability to speak or not to speak Spanish."*

But among some Puerto Rican students from New York, the term has mixed meanings:

> **What's your response to the term 'Nuyorican?'** Raul: "It depends on the context. I think [I am] Nuyorican, if I volunteer that information. I would say Puerto Rican. But if I have to clarify it for some people I'm from New York. For some people it may be just stating a fact but other people, especially other Puerto Ricans . . . it implies that you're not really Puerto Rican, you're kind of a watered down version of what a Puerto Rican should be, and I've gotten that a lot of times. I think the term Nuyorican connotes that experience of being removed from the island but having a significant impact of the island's culture and traditions on your ways."

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> **How do you feel about that term?** Anita: "To a large degree I am a typical Nuyorican except for the fact that I feel when they say Nuyorican it's someone who doesn't aspire to be much." **So it's a negative connotation?** "Yes, it's a bit negative, but when I go to Puerto Rico and they call me Nuyorican it doesn't bother me as much." **Do they do that a lot there?** "When we went there as children we got to the airport once, [when] I was about twelve and my sister was fourteen or fifteen, she was a little more sensitive and they were telling us . . . 'Yankee go home' . . . and my sister was very upset."

For the majority, the term "Nuyorican" had at least negative overtones accentuating socioeconomic differences between island and mainland Puerto Ricans. Indeed, tensions between these two groups center around class distinctions. For example, several island-born Puerto Ricans were adamant about their middle class up-bringing. They made a point about attending public schools rather than private schools to disassociate from wealthy Puerto Ricans. The issue they raise is not trivial, for an undercurrent of intra-ethnic tension exists in general between Latinos perceived as wealthy or upper class and by those who are not.

Friction among Puerto Ricans, and between them and other ethnic groups, is linked to class and ethnic differences. Tomás, a Puerto Rican who now identifies with mainland culture, was a former member of a national Puerto Rican research group. His insights about Puerto Rican ethnicity have particular impact:

> "U.S. Puerto Ricans have a funny relationship . . . since the home country is so close by and so accessible, it's really hard to distance yourself as other immigrants may. . . . [T]he demographics are different, the social characteristics are different, its problems are different. Yet when the U.S. wants to address Puerto Rican problems, it addresses the problems in Puerto Rico or at least Puerto Rico is the spokesperson for the problems of all Puerto Ricans. . . . Puerto Rico is a free standing society, it has its own problems, it has its aristocracy, its lower class. It's a little country. I [once] invited 15 Puerto Ricans from the island and 15 from the mainland, [to meet] . . . leaders in academe, business, civic, government, *etc.* so I tried to get them from similar occupations. It was interesting. I realized in our first meeting, because I knew all these people, that all of the Puerto Ricans from the island had parents who had gone to college. None of the Puerto Ricans from the mainland had parents who had gone to college and that's the difference."
>
> "U.S. Puerto Ricans are very much a minority. Where the ethnicity is strongest is in the inner city. . . . The U.S. Puerto Rican community come[s] from immigrant neighborhoods, from the barrios, so . . . in a sense, the U.S. Puerto Rican community is a much healthier community . . . it has the energy that your typical U.S. immigrant community has. It's a lot less hung up, with history of social class and

> class distinction. In a sense, everybody's parents and grandparents came off a boat, came from Puerto Rico in an airplane and worked in the fields, *etc.* At first there was an embarrassment about it, but you were beginning to see a certain pride in them, such as you would find among Italian Americans or among Polish Americans. . . . That kind of thing is happening more among U.S. Puerto Ricans. The island is still hung up on . . . society, not as much as other Latin countries because Puerto Rico never had an aristocracy like Cuba or Venezuela. . . . Puerto Rico is a Caribbean Latin society, U.S. Puerto Ricans are an immigrant U.S. society."
>
> "We dealt with the issue of the Hispanic community and . . . who the hell is Hispanic? . . . and what are the policies that interest U.S. Puerto Ricans? We found that we had far more in common with African Americans from the North East, not Southern African Americans, or other Hispanics, who have a different set of circumstances. If you look at all the [social] indicators, they are shaped similarly among Puerto Ricans; they share the same neighborhoods with African Americans from the Northeast and Midwest, so we look sociologically a lot like them, much more than we look like Mexicans or Cubans or South American Hispanics. The main issues [Latinos] were advocating for were Mexican American because Mexican Americans are the largest Hispanic minority. They tend to dominate the agenda and we felt we were always being swamped, either . . . by Puerto Ricans in the island [with] their own island agenda and politics, or if we focused on the U.S., we were being swamped by Mexican Americans who had a different agenda. . . . [They] focused on the Southwest [where] the issues are more rural, [and] more to do with their [culture]. . . . The Mexican community is a very strong community. The Mexican family is a very strong family. So the policy issues . . . of Puerto Rican poor people living next to poor people, welfare reform, crime, drugs, *etc.* [are] far less important [for other] Hispanics . . . so the policy emphasis is different. Whenever we got together to talk about policies you could see the clashes. But by sheer force of numbers . . . we're swallowed into what is more [relevant] for rural workers. . . . We want it to look more like the Black agenda so we end up siding more with African Americans than with Mexicans."

Many may disagree with his views but not with the fact that socioeconomic differences exist among Puerto Ricans. These differences are masked by intermingling island and mainland groups on our campuses. Consequently, this diversity among Puerto Ricans is either not clearly understood or ignored by those in the higher education community. This report will attempt to shed some light on these differences.

Mexican Americans - Chicanas/os

Calling oneself "Mexican American" or "Chicana/o"[6] depends largely upon individual preference determined by such factors as political viewpoint, geographic location, generation, or social context. In general, the term "Mexican American" reflects ethnic culture and national origin, while "Chicano" or "Chicana" adds the ingredients of political awareness and socioeconomic struggle. For some Mexican American respondents the terms were so highly contextual, usage verged on identity switching. Among all Latinos interviewed, a few described shifting ethnic terms to accommodate the situation. A majority of them were Mexican American. This is an important point, for chameleon-like behavior may reflect survival strategies under challenging conditions for Mexican Americans as well as "Other Latinos". The following are insights into this phenomenon:

> "Mexican American or Chicana, depending on who I'm speaking to" says Selena, who is now working outside the university. ". . . [On] the East Coast . . . Chicana means nothing or is so exotic . . . I have adopted Mexican American. That's a term that even people here on the East Coast are familiar with. 'Mexican American' they seem to understand and then I will elaborate and say . . . 'Chicana'. . . I am well aware of its political connotations and that is in part the reason I use it." **Have you run into people that have never heard the term Chicana?** "Yes. That was not true until I moved here."
>
> Manuel responds, "Mexican American." **How about Chicano?** "I used to [use it] when I lived in California, but in Texas nobody uses that word. People don't know what it means. I'm very proud of being a Mexican. I became a U.S. citizen so it seemed very clear that I became a Mexican American. I went to school at Berkeley and I became a Chicano and then I became a Mexican American again when we moved back to Texas. The word is not widely known, or used or accepted in Texas."
>
> And from another Texan: "I'm a Chicano." **Not Mexican American?** "On occasion, but mostly Chicano, when people ask me I always respond as a Chicano." **In Texas you say Mexican American, but in California you say Chicano?** "I've been using the term Chicano to identify myself since I was a teenager because that's the term we used in the neighborhood. I think the reason people use the term Mexican American is because they want to appear more acceptable to the Anglo majority and they get defensive about it. But I like Chicano because it's self-identifying and it came from my community and I've never had to make excuses for it. If people don't like it, that's their problem not mine." **Any other patterns you**

[6]The term "Chicano/a" or "Chicana/o" will be used interchangeably here to represent the current transition from gender fixed terms to gender inclusive terms in English. Unless indicated by individual preference, the term "Mexican American" will be used to denote this ethnic cohort.

notice? "Generally what's interesting is that although I am not afraid to use Chicano in the open, a lot of my colleagues are and they'll use Mexican American in public but among ourselves they use Chicano."

And from Nilda, a Latina professor in Texas: "Mexican American, without the hyphen. Because I think if you hyphenate Mexican American it denotes second class citizenship. We are U.S. born and we're first class citizens. I don't even use it; not even when used as an adjective. And when I publish something I make sure that the publisher knows that it is not hyphenated."

Again from Texas, Mariflor responds: "Mexican American. All of my family was Mexican and my country of origin is Mexico. I was so little so that's what I consider to be my country of origin." **What about the term Chicana?** "No, I think of Chicana as someone who grew up struggling with that whole experience on this side of the border. I grew up in a country where it was alright to be Mexican . . . [Don't] call yourself Chicana if you did not have to put up with all that crap. I didn't, not as a youngster. It wasn't until I came to the United States that I ran into expressions of racial hostility which I found to be so astounding."

From Pablo, a professor in Arizona, "Chicano. When I was a child we were Mexican American. To me that meant that neither the Mexicans nor the Americans wanted us so when I heard the name Chicano, I identified more closely with it because it emphasized that we were a separate cultural entity living in the Southwest."

Finally, one Latina student put it all together for many by responding:

"It depends on which setting I'm in. If I'm writing, I call myself a Chicana. If I'm in a group of people who are in the community, who are the people who really are involved in community affairs like arts, those kinds of things, writers, literary people, Chicana is what I use so it's more politicized in those circles. At home and talking to other people I would say Mexican American, and with people who speak Spanish I would say Mexicana. Within the university, Hispanic, so these terms are used all the time."

Approximately half of the Mexican American participants preferred to use the term "Mexican American" exclusively while another third preferred "Chicano" or "Chicana" only. A smaller number used both terms interchangeably and only two preferred to be called "Mexican" or "Latino" only. The only variation from this were two respondents who initially referred to themselves as "American Mexican" and "American of Mexican descent." Among respondents, the term "Chicano/a" signifies political context, closely associated with the workers movement lead by César Chávez in California and frequently related to the generation involved in that union struggle. Hence, the term has greater popularity among Mexican Americans from California than

for those living in certain parts of Texas. However, these terms are also preferential and there is no hard and fast rule. Several Mexican Americans from Texas liked being called Chicana/o. Others, even from generations preceding the political movement, used it because it is perceived as popular, and in their minds, less political today. Francisco, an administrator who had lived in several regions throughout the U.S., concluded that Latino culture and ethnicity varies from to state to state.

> "My perspective is you can't lump the experience of Chicano and Latinos in the Southwest. Arizona, for example, is very isolated in many ways. The Chicano population there is old-time, somewhat set in its ways. Many of the population there tend to use the term 'Hispanic' to distinguish from the Californian and Texan experience. The Midwest was interesting because. . . . there was an emerging population there. It was very strong but almost invisible."

Midwest Latinos

Francisco brings to light an emerging ethnic phenomenon, the Midwest Latino.

> ". . . [P]olitically, on the campus and in the state as a whole, in Illinois and Wisconsin, the Latinos were really starting to make a push to be recognized, and so often the conflict was not just the dominant population but with the Black population. There was a real attempt to forge a Latino identity as distinct from just a Chicano or just a Puerto Rican or just a Cuban identity. Obviously there were those identities but there was a recognition that to be politically and educationally successful Latinos had to work together. There were not enough numbers or powers to be separate as Chicano, Puerto Rican, Cuban and so on. So I think they came together. . . . There was a real effort in higher education and in the public to see themselves as a unified Latino force."

Within the Latino project, at least eight individuals were involved with Midwest Latino culture. Several remarked that Midwest Latinos were characterized as striving for unity and identity. Despite significant Latino populations existing in cities such as Chicago and Detroit, Midwest Latinos struggle with acculturation, a concern commonly associated with smaller populations. The issue is complex. Midwest Latinos may feel overshadowed by their better-known counterparts living close to the borders or in the "heartland" of their particular ethnic populations. Although growing in numbers, they feel unrecognized as an emerging regional culture. They also fear erosion of their ethnic identity and perceive they are integrating into the fabric of American society, however one chooses to define that, faster than their colleagues elsewhere. This last point is critical, for, as this researcher has observed, Midwest Latinos are sensitive to the consequences of acculturation—the loss of ethnic markers such as language and

customs. Many are uncomfortable not speaking Spanish or not preparing traditional foods as well as their counterparts do in the Southwest, Puerto Rico, or Miami. As a result, many Midwest Latinos often go unrecognized by non-Latinos because they fail to exhibit characteristics often stereotyped as Mexican American.

Latino ethnicity is dynamic. One's identity is a fluid boundary marker between populations with different national origins. It is rather like a world map with dotted lines representing a disputed border between countries in conflict. The borders can be filled in or moved according to shifting resources and changing geopolitics. Ethnic differences may seem striking here, but on entering the arena of graduate education, these markers become transparent and often are ignored. Administrators, department personnel and even students tend to identify the groups in singular generic terms. For Latinos in graduate education, ethnic boundaries give way to new identities: "graduate student," "Doctor," "Professor" or "Dean" as the roles shift and evolve. The consequences of these transformations are evident in the tension and conflict voiced by the Latinos in the study. On the surface, Latinos react to the initiation into graduate school and their discipline in ways similar to all other populations; some adjust, some adapt and some leave. However, on a deeper level, findings indicate that for those who stay, graduate education may stimulate a unique interest in ethnicity that surfaces near the end of their graduate training.

THE IMPACT OF THE FAMILY ON HIGHER EDUCATION

"My parents gave me the very best they had, but they couldn't give me what they didn't have . . . experience." Selena from Texas

The general perception is that Latinos come from large, extended families with strong ties and with traditional patriarchal values favoring males over females. Pre-college education is assumed important but higher education is not, unless there are immediate economic pay-offs for the family and its survival. Latinos in the project described their family life somewhat differently. Although many portrayed their families maintaining traditional beliefs, the patterns and incidence varied by ethnic group and, according to respondents, conditions were changing for the better in some cases. For example, according to some women in the study, the influence of traditional patriarchal values favoring male over female siblings still exists, but is diminishing as more Latinas seek higher degrees. For Latinos, the family and community still play important roles in shaping aspirations for higher education. At the core of Latino cultures are family values instilling a preference for positive interpersonal interactions, reliance on relatives as providers of emotional support, and in times of need, family unity. Thus, a key to understanding Latinos in graduate education is found by examining the influence of the family on higher education.

Among Latinos in the study, the family was, indeed, a tight-knit unit. Only a small number had divorced parents and almost all described being nurtured by their immediate and extended families. Most tended to come from large families. However, by ethnic cohort, Mexican Americans in the study came from larger families and tended to be the oldest of their siblings compared with other Latino groups. This contrast was due partially to the relatively larger sample size of the Mexican American cohort, and partially to the impact of sociocultural differences between the various ethnic populations in the study.

Parental occupations, their level of education, and other socioeconomic conditions within the family can be important factors affecting the success of offspring in higher education. The family profiles among Latinos in the study were revealing in their diversity. Virtually all respondents discussed their parents' occupations. These later were categorized and arranged by the researcher into traditionally defined blue-collar (service sector and operative work) and white-collar (professional, executive, educational) occupations. On the whole, results show the majority of Latinos have parents from white-collar backgrounds. However, sorted by ethnicity the majority of Mexican American and Puerto Rican parents held blue-collar jobs while most "Other Latino" and virtually all Cuban American parents held white collar occupations.

Categorizing levels of parental education revealed similar distinctions. One might reasonably assume that parents with more education are more likely to encourage their offspring to complete a degree and increase their chances for success. From this, one could expect a high number of Latinos in the study to have parents with college educations. However, the overall majority of parents had no college experience. Inter-ethnic comparisons revealed hidden variations. For example, most Mexican Americans had parents with no college experience, but only some parents of Puerto Ricans, Cubans and "Other Latinos" had parents with no college training. In fact, only a few of the Mexican Americans interviewed had one or more parents with a college degree, whereas many respondents from the other three groups had one or more parents with a college degree. Twice as many Island Puerto Ricans had one or more parents with an advanced degree than Puerto Ricans from the mainland. Overall, Cuban Americans had the highest percentage of any group with parents earning advanced degrees. These findings are similar to U.S. census data on the various Latino populations over age 25 (Hodgkinson & Outtz, 1996).

There are two important implications of these differences in family profiles. First, data aggregation, especially with Latinos, tends to mask differences between ethnic groups, thus generating potentially faulty assumptions about specific populations. Second, assuming that socioeconomic background (represented here by occupation and level of education) is a variable affecting access to higher education, then some populations, such as the Mexican Americans, face greater obstacles than other Latino groups in obtaining advanced degrees. This pattern for Chicanas/os has been described else-

where (Gándara, 1982, 1993) but rarely with multi-ethnic group comparisons.

Another variable influencing educational aspirations is parental attitudes toward higher education. Most Latinos reported parental encouragement and support, either psychologically or financially, for completing a college education. Regardless of education or socioeconomic condition, parents of the study group not only pushed the value of higher education, they sacrificed so their offspring could achieve what many of them never could. In a few cases, even extended family members offered encouragement and support.

A few in the project, however, experienced parental resistance about attending college. Only eight, primarily Chicanas, encountered anything more serious than negative attitudes or ambivalence from their parents. The following story is an example of parental resistance, and it includes an interesting solution for changing these attitudes:

> "Most of my extended family agreed with my father, that I shouldn't come to school because I was a girl," says Juana, a Mexican American from Texas. "They were not very supportive at all. When I came here [to college] I didn't date a soul because I didn't want to get attached to anybody. I had a goal and I was not going to let my dad say . . . 'I told you [you weren't going to finish]'. . . . I took part in social organizations, but never dated. I was determined to prove everybody wrong." **What would you recommend to other women facing the same kinds of resistance?** "I work with young Hispanic women all the time. I encourage them to educate their parents on how college is important. I had to bring my parents here and scheduled a tour of a dorm. I had somebody explain to my parents that the side doors were going to be locked. We had a curfew. My dad thought I was just telling them that, but once I got the university representative to explain and support what I was saying, it helped a little bit. . . . I now have my mother speaking at some of the parent meetings I conduct about how mothers have to be supportive. If they don't know and still have doubts, they need to go to the university and ask questions and there will always be somebody there who is bilingual."

By the time respondents entered graduate school, a slightly larger number of parents questioned the value of pursuing advanced degrees and prodded their offspring to "go to work." Others parents were concerned their offspring were not seeking traditional professions like medicine or law. In general, family resistance at the undergraduate level was characterized by gender stereotyping or by traditional attitudes favoring males. At the graduate level, respondents encountered little more than impatience or disagreement over career choice. Overall, the frequency of family resistance, for both college and graduate school, was surprisingly low. This could be an isolated pattern among project respondents, or it could be an encouraging trend. In fact, some respondents commented that traditional Latino family values were changing, and assumptions

about "housebound Latinas" were no longer valid.

Regardless of family support, the lack of parental experience in higher education was still the biggest problem facing Latinos entering graduate education. The following is a series of comments describing this problem from a number of viewpoints. Selena, a Chicana from Texas, reflects the predominant feeling among those whose parents had little education:

> "They were very proud since neither of my parents had gone to college. It was not only a personal achievement on my part but it was something that the family did. I was very aware of the differences in my experience in college, in talking with my parents and my peers. Sometimes I was very envious of other friends who were able to use their parents as sounding boards or who had other family members who could give them advice about their majors, and about 'what I was going to be when I grew up'. My parents were very supportive emotionally. They helped me through my undergraduate years financially. I worked as well, but they couldn't tell me what they didn't know. I recognized that I was often put in the position to make sense out of this environment of the university as well as to make very significant decisions about the future by myself. My friends used their parents and their extended family for references. My parents gave me the very best they had but they couldn't give me what they didn't have and neither of them had much in the way of experience. . . . My father was very sound and practical with his advice, but he, probably more than anyone else, saw college as a means to a good career and we had many debates about my academic choices. It was hard explaining to my father, who wanted a practical application, what I was studying."

Beto, a Mexican American professor from Arizona comments: "My parents never knew what college was about. All they said was . . . 'You can be anything that you want to be'. . . they spoke the American dream. What they didn't tell me was how to do it, and that was a major omission. It was not their fault, but there is a big difference when somebody says 'you can be anything you want to be' and then say . . . 'Oh, by the way, in order for that to happen you have to do this, this and this and here's why'. To me I . . . just went [to school thinking] something magically will happen, but I blew the first couple of years big time and decided I was going to switch my major to something that was easy."

The extent of the problem was captured by Enrique, a Chicano from Texas who remarks: "It was really funny. To this day I don't think my father understands what I do for a living because in 1979 I got a call on Christmas Eve and he said . . . 'look, just get out of college. We don't care if you graduate, you've been in there too long already. Come back and get some work'. . . . And I said . . . 'Dad, I did graduate from college. I'm a faculty member!'"

Latinos with parents who lack educational experience in the U.S. face additional struggles getting advanced degrees. Encouragement and support for higher education is helpful, but it is not enough. Academically prepared, many Latinos are unaware until later that they lack essential educational conditioning that families with prior college experience can offer. The results have unexpected costs, as Beto revealed when he *"blew the first couple of years, big time."* Latinos may enter college without clear educational plans and even less knowledge than many of their classmates about what it takes to be successful. Respondents remember their parents' advice to approach education as if it were manual labor: work hard and success will come from the effort. But, as Selena points out, while Latino families are capable of offering all kinds of support, they are less capable of providing vital information for navigating academia.

In general, graduate schools would benefit by revising recruiting strategies for Latinos. Effective approaches should be more personalized and include parents or life partners in the activities. Providing families with information about graduate education is useful, but it would have more impact delivered personally and within the community environment. Finally, graduate school recruitment and retention programs should be grounded in policies recognizing the importance of ethnicity, the family, and community in the lives of perspective Latino students.

PRECONDITIONING FOR GRADUATE EDUCATION

"I never really chose anything. I just wanted to go to school but I didn't know very much about it. City College was the closest place that I could go." ***A Chicana from California***

For Latinos, schools play as important a role as the family in determining an individuals educational expectations (Cuádraz, 1992:32). Secondary and postsecondary preparation can be vital for success in higher education. The important issues for Latinos, as for minorities in general, are access and mobility. Overall, a majority of respondents attended public school only. By ethnic group, the pattern indicates a large majority of these were Mexican Americans. The majority of Puerto Ricans and "Other Latinos" and most of the Cubans experienced the advantage of a combination of private, parochial, or public schools. Despite the fact that Latinos are more likely to attend two year institutions than other ethnic groups (O'Brien, 1993), only some respondents did so. Here again, the majority of respondents entering higher education through two-year institutions were Mexican American, a similar pattern found by others (Brown, 1994:26). Not surprisingly, over half the Latinos in the project attended four-year undergraduate institutions close to home. The importance of being close to parents or partners, and lack of money, were the most frequent reasons given for attending local institutions. The following series of comments indicate that other factors also influenced their decisions about where to attend school:

According to Raul, a Puerto Rican student: "I was the first to graduate from college, from my immediate family, from my extended family, in New York City, so there was no one to tell me . . . these are the things you should consider when selecting a college."

"I was naive," says Daniel, now a college administrator, "because I was going to a college and most people did not live there. They commuted from Jamaica, and all over Queens and you go during the day. . . . I never realized that until I went to UVA and the University of Illinois and Wisconsin and other places that actually people go to live on campuses. That was [a] first generation college bound kid with parents not understanding the concepts of higher education at all."

Anita, a Puerto Rican professor, comments: "I have to admit I was getting lots of invitations to go to lots of schools; from MIT to schools I had never heard of. They offered me a fellowship. They had gotten a bunch of money from AT&T to keep all the top 10 percent from the high school and everything was paid for. I had this idea that even though I wanted to leave home, I found it a bit daunting to go to a big school. I think that's why I decided to stay [near home] for a couple of years and get used to being in college, and I think that was a good move."

Alfonso, is a Cuban American professor raised in South America: "I didn't get into anything else. It was the only school that I was accepted to coming from [South America]. Thinking back on it, it reflects a real lack of understanding of North American culture. My father had no idea. He didn't understand what you do to get into a university or how you relate your high school performance to a particular university. He seemed to be totally ignorant of that and as a result, I applied to about six or seven schools and all of them were entirely beyond what my academic performance indicated."

And finally, from Marta, a Puerto Rican faculty member, originally from New York: "I always saw myself going to a really good school because of my success in high school and my parents also assumed that I would go to an Ivy League school. I had planned to go to Harvard but I didn't get in. I applied to six schools and I got into five. Yale was the most diverse of the schools that I applied to. It turned out, a lot of the schools I applied to were very much like my hometown and I had enough of that. I wanted to go to school in a place where I would find different sorts of people, people with different cultures. I met a lot of Puerto Ricans and other Latinos there. It was a large school; my class had about 5,000 people in it so I could always meet new and interesting people. I would never get stuck in a rut or a clique."

In general, respondents gave multiple reasons for selecting their undergraduate institutions. Most felt they wanted to go to college but didn't know much about the schools and lacked information about how to get into them. Some factored in the qual-

ity of the college program or faculty in their choice. But an equal number were influenced by family or peers to enroll in the nearest institution. One Latina remembers turning down a scholarship at a prestigious California university to go to a less prestigious school with her friends. One recurring theme: *"I had no career or educational plan. I had no choice just fate."* Only a few respondents were guided by high school counselors and even fewer were recruited by colleges. Others felt that poor information and lack of guidance resulted in either underestimating their abilities by applying only to community colleges, or overestimating their chances by applying only to highly prestigious schools.

At this stage of analysis, undergraduate experience, family background or other social/cultural factors in the study offer few insights for predicting success in graduate education. Private schools and parents with college degrees may increase ones chances for getting into college, while those without this background may likely face additional struggles to do so. None of these preconditions predicted successful outcomes in graduate school. Latinos in the study successfully pursued advanced degrees despite privilege or preparation. Looking beyond academic achievement the primary ingredients for success seem to be personal characteristics: persistence and determination, the willingness to surmount obstacles in completing advanced degrees, and the ability to adapt to adversity. In that context, graduate schools might benefit by asking potential students to identify the barriers they had to overcome to prepare themselves for graduate work. Such personal strategies for overcoming obstacles should be weighed equally with the academic honors and achievements, too often the primary focus of graduate admissions committees.

SECTION II: THE GRADUATE SCHOOL EXPERIENCE

MOTIVATION: ACADEMICS, CAREERS, ETHNICITY

"She . . . introduced me to other professors who also encouraged me, so by the time I was doing my student teaching . . . I knew I wanted to be a college professor. . . ."
Nilda

In contrast to their undergraduate experience, over half the participants in the study attended all or a portion of their graduate education away from their community or out of state. Their numbers are evenly distributed among the four ethnic groups, indicating traditional cultural values and ethnicity may not be significant factors in this decision. Virtually all respondents had numerous reasons for pursuing advanced degrees. When Latinos were asked which factors influenced their decisions, their answers fell into three broad categories, listed here in the order of frequency of response: **Academics, Careers, and Ethnicity.**

Academics

Academic interests comprised the majority of the reasons for going to graduate school. Intellectual curiosity or undergraduate faculty/academic encouragement were prime motivators. Undergraduate faculty encouragement was a common theme and the most frequently mentioned reason for going to school. Others mentioned their attraction to academics, teaching or research. These Latinos were goal-oriented, enthusiastic, self-motivated, and, at times, driven to continue in higher education. Their stories were punctuated with phrases such as, *"I always knew"* or *"I always wanted"* to get an advanced degree.

One interesting finding is how relatively little graduate recruiting influenced decisions to go to graduate school. When asked, only 20 percent recalled being recruited by anyone, either faculty or staff, from graduate institutions. Only four individuals, or about five percent of those interviewed, mentioned graduate faculty recruitment or encouragement influenced their decision to go to graduate school. This suggests that graduate faculty have the potential for influencing Latinos toward graduate work. However, these are surprisingly low numbers given the emphasis and resources allocated toward minority recruiting by graduate schools over the years. Even so, generalized student recruiting activities still provide indirect benefits and marketing impact for graduate institutions. College fairs, forums, mailings, and such, serve to educate prospective students about the graduate admissions process and provide specific infor-

mation about various graduate institutions. These activities may simply have less influence than commonly perceived in convincing Latinos they should go on to graduate school.

Careers

Many Latinos in the study were motivated by changes in their careers to return to school. For some, career development naturally guided them to pursue advanced degrees. More often than not, Latinos in this group soon discovered their baccalaureate degree provided neither the skills nor the credentials for advancing in their careers. In one case, a graduate degree was required to perform clinical work. Job dissatisfaction, more money, career advancement, and encouragement by family or partner prompted career shifts eventually leading to graduate school. In a few cases, Latinos simply believed that *"things just happened to me,"* or that things would *"unfold magically,"* to get into graduate school. *"Fatalism"* could be construed as an implied cultural value here, but it does not appear to be a driving force. Indeed, Latinos in the project seemed quite goal-oriented and focused about why they wanted to go to graduate school.

Ethnicity

Less than a quarter of the Latinos interviewed mentioned ethnic heritage as a motivator for graduate studies. For those motivated by it, ethnic interest emerged as an ambition to become a "cultural broker" for their Latino community. Some respondents selected disciplines and careers that provide outreach, deal with people, and are practical or applied in nature. A few sought graduate school to become involved in ethnic politics, such as the Chicana/o movement. Even fewer said they went on to study Latino ethnicity. In general, Latinos motivated to graduate study by their ethnic heritage were those seeking to facilitate change, especially within and between the Latino and non-Latino communities. No doubt many of these values are derived from the family.

The following stories highlight the complex interweaving of ethnicity, family/cultural values, faculty encouragement, and the desire to utilize a chosen discipline to help the community:

> From a Latino in Arizona: "Why I went to graduate school? My major was in electronics and computer technology. I was in that field because that's what I tested into [in high school] and they kept me there even though that was not what I really liked. When I got out of school my dad said . . . 'You're going to be a doctor' . . . and I said 'I don't want to be a doctor'. . . . He said I was a medic and I was going. . . . That's the reason I chose to go to [college] because they had a

medical program and I just hated it. . . . It was not what I wanted to do. So after my freshman year I told my dad that wasn't what I wanted to do. I've always been interested in philosophy and that's what I want to study. He went through the roof. We didn't talk for a couple of years. Then it got time for me to graduate and he said . . . 'You got your degree, why don't you be a cop? You'll be captain by the time you're thirty-two, you'll make $85,000 a year, and take home a car.' I said, 'I don't want to be a cop . . . I want to work at the university, but I'm not sure if that's what I want to do.' I want to do something where I can make a difference in the community because I saw too many of my friends just fall by the way side. A lot of them did really well. A lot of them just ended up doing nothing. They're continuous community college students for six or seven years and I just want to be an example, especially to my younger cousins. There's nothing wrong with the positions my family has, working for the city and state, but there's got to be more out there. One of my cousins had just finished film school at UCLA and I went to visit the campus . . . 'This is grad school? You only have to go to class once a week?' . . . . This sounds good to me. Then I said to one of the professors at [college] . . . I don't want to go to graduate school. He took me aside and he explained it to me and I thought, I could do this."

From a Chicana in Arizona: "I also found that without getting a Master's in biochemistry, I couldn't do much. I was at Cal State, Los Angeles, which is very ethnically oriented and we were frequently sent out to the community because there are so few of our people going into the natural sciences, especially women. We'd go out there and it was a frequent frustration that [potential students] just weren't interested or they thought it was too hard. . . . 'That's not for me. I can't do that. You have to be too smart or too whatever.' That was part of . . . one of the motivations for going from biochemistry to science policy, which is what I'm doing now and particularly public policy. If I go into private policy science I could make lots of money and I could stay close to the sciences. But if I go with public policy I could stay close to the sciences, not make as much money, but hopefully encourage, especially Latino people, to go into the sciences." **So you're doing it by shifting careers. . . ?** "Yes, it's a slight shift in careers but I haven't looked back either. It's perfect for me. There's less money, but I'm not going to go hungry."

Nilda is a Mexican American professor: **What were the factors that influenced you to get a Masters?** "Because I met [Professor X] a sociologist in one of my very first sociology courses, and I wanted to be just like her, and I found that I knew a lot of sociology. I had the experience, I just didn't have it in the abstract, but I loved it. She started telling me . . . 'have you ever thought of being a professor?'. . . . Then she asked me to come and lecture in her class so I started giving guest lectures. Then she says . . . 'I think you need to be a sociologist and we can work it out'. . . . So she planned the itinerary and introduced me to other professors who also encouraged me. By the time I was doing my student teaching in the spring of 1975 I knew

I wanted to be a college professor, and I followed their advice. [Professor Y] was also very influential in helping me with my schedule. Every single semester I wouldn't register into class until I spoke to him and told him I wanted to be a sociologist. First he said I had to get my Bachelors and [told me] the quickest way of getting it, so that I think sponsorship is very, very important." **Sounds like you had some mentorship all the way through?** "Yes, but . . . I didn't meet these people until the 1970's. If I had this kind of sponsorship in the sixties, I never would have dropped out of school. But I didn't have any guidance at all. I was just going and taking classes. I remember I took geography. I didn't know why I was taking geography. I would take classes in what ever would fit my schedule so that I could go to work. I thought you just took classes . . . I didn't know you had to have so many hours in English, so many hours in science. I just thought that as long as you had the 128 hours you would be OK because nobody had explained it to me."

"I think the biggest impact was when I taught Latino high school students and I spoke with their parents," says Consuelo, a Chicana student from Texas. "I would speak to them in Spanish and they would come to me and tell me . . . 'thank you for being able to relate to us. You are one of us and we thank you for that'. . . . That to me was how important our culture is, our language is, to be able to relate to the parents. Not only that, when I saw those students I saw myself and I saw people I knew in those students. So I wanted to be able to give a part of myself to show these students that they to could do it."

Raul, a Puerto Rican student from New York, remarked: "I'm curious and . . . there's still a lot of things that I want to know. I want to clarify for myself and others like me who are searching for some kind of guidance, why it is that people who live where I live, or look the way I do, or have a similar background, disproportionally have to endure so many obstacles and social costs in a capitalist society? I think in a profession such as sociology you're never going to know everything you want to know. That's impossible. But this is a profession or a pursuit where the accumulation of knowledge or the sharing of knowledge is inherent in it and I think I enjoy that. I think it was some faculty members in my old school that encouraged me when I brought it up. Meanwhile, most of my family said, 'What do you want to keep going to school for?'"

In general, Latinos in the study were much more goal-oriented by the time they entered a graduate program. Multiple factors brought them to the graduate threshold, the most important of which was undergraduate faculty encouragement. For others, career advancement triggered their interests, while some were driven by ethnicity and family/cultural values to find meaningful ways to reach out to the community and help other Latinos.

GETTING IN: THE PROCESS OF APPLICATION

"That was my first taste of the unwritten rule . . . they don't normally like to accept people from their own undergraduate program. . . ." Selena, a Chicana from Texas

For all students, the process of application, admissions, and eventual arrival in a graduate program signals a normal transition into serious study. For Latinos in the study this transition was not always a smooth one. The critical point was access. Some felt hampered by lack of information and their own naivete in gaining admission to a graduate school. For instance, most Latinos chose a high-risk strategy when applying to graduate programs. Although many applied to three-to-five programs, almost half applied to only one or two schools. This pattern was recurrent among the four ethnic groups. It confirms what the founders of Project 1000[7] claim: underrepresented populations, especially Latinos, tend not to apply to many graduate schools. Proponents of minority application/recruitment programs believe such a high-risk strategy lessens the chances for admission into graduate school. While this may be true for the larger population and Latinos in general, Latinos in the study succeeded in gaining acceptance to most, if not all, of the programs to which they applied.

When asked to recall factors which either helped or hindered their admission to graduate school, a good majority of Latinos described more positive than negative experiences. Among factors perceived to improve their chances for admission, foremost were gender and ethnic heritage. For instance, being Latino or Chicana was perceived to be significant in getting into their program. That is, respondents felt they benefited by affirmative action initiatives at institutions seeking to diversify their student body. Latinos also believed that ethnic-specific skills, such as bilingualism, added to their admission success in certain programs. High standardized test scores and a high grade point average (GPA) were given equal value toward their success, followed by strong letters of recommendation, previous undergraduate experiences, quality of undergraduate institution, and direct faculty assistance or intervention. Only one student remarked he would not be in graduate school today without the service provided by Project 1000.

On the down side, factors militating against admissions fell into two categories: low Graduate Record Examination (GRE) test scores and departmental reluctance. While undergraduate academic performance was never mentioned as a problem, low GRE scores topped the list as the biggest obstacle. Interestingly, the problems

[7] Project 1000 is a national minority recruitment program located on the Arizona State University campus. It is a graduate application program originally founded to increase the numbers of Latino (now all minority) students admitted and enrolled in graduate schools around the country.

encountered with the GRE, GMAT and other standardized tests seemed to be regional. All but two of the ten Latinas/os who encountered GRE difficulties were from graduate programs in the state of Texas. Consuelo, a "Tejana"[8] studying education, offers advice on how to overcome the GRE hurdle:

> "I did not score the 1100 on my GRE so I know that there was [a problem]. . . . It said in the [university] paper work . . . you must have an 1100 to get into the graduate school.[9] But it also said considerations would be made." **So you didn't have the GRE scores, what did you do?** "I took the GRE but I just didn't have the 1100. I didn't do anything. I wrote a letter . . . my personal statement and [I said] . . . I had this teaching experience, I need to learn more about this, I am interested in the welfare of our children and I need to learn more. The other thing I said was, I wanted to be a university faculty [member], and that little statement has made all the difference. . . . I know so few graduate students who are thinking about being a professor. They are all going to graduate school but . . . nobody ever says in class why they're doing it. When professors ask, I heard one person respond . . . 'I'm interested in being a university faculty [member]', so I knew that was a big difference between me and other students because many just say . . . 'I want to go back to the school district . . . work at research and development labs', that kind of stuff. But for me, after I said that, I got nominated for the [H] Scholar and here I am. . . ." **Why do you think they are not getting Latinos and Latinas interested in being professors?** "Access. I think we don't really have access to people who are in those rolls. To even think about [being a professor] just doesn't allow for it. I would never think about being a doctor. . . ." **How did you overcome your GRE problem?** "I realized that my GRE [score] is a reflection of having worked in schools. My math was fine, it was my verbals that were low. . . . I never considered myself to be a [strong] reader until I was thirty years old. It was just a matter of having taught [school] five years and not reading and not keeping up. . . ."

Laura, another Mexican American student from Texas, described her struggles and how she dealt with them:

> **Was there any thing that you found afterwards that hindered your admission?** "Yes, my GRE score. Right before I got into the summer minority research program . . . one professor told me . . . 'You are graduate material.' Maybe I should take the GRE exam because everyone has to take it before they apply to any graduate school. When I . . . did so poorly I thought everyone would think I'm

[8] The terms "Tejana" or "Tejano" refer to Mexican Americans born and raised in Texas. It also alludes to a regional culture identified by language, customs and music originating from Texas.

[9] The Graduate Record Examination program has consistently taken the position that test scores should not be the sole basis for making an admission decision, and that "cut off" scores are inappropriate and should never be used as a criteria for admission.

> an idiot. There's no way I could be graduate material for any school. That's how I felt then. So what I did was literally show [them] my resume with letters of recommendation from my professors. They knew I was very interested in [the discipline] and they knew I took an interest even without wanting to apply to graduate school . . . because I did so much relevant volunteer work." **So what happened with your GRE scores so low?** "Dr. [X] said . . . 'you can take it over again and you've got to try really hard. . . . Study at least six months in advance and take it again.' I did. I believe because I improved they let me in. I improved by 100 points. Right now I try to do as many presentations at conferences as possible. I try to go above and beyond the call of duty as a graduate student to have a good vita, because my vitae shows that I want a Ph.D. I know my GRE score doesn't show that I'm qualified but I know my vita can help and I know that letters of recommendation from professors could help." **Do you know any other Latinos or Latinas that had trouble getting in because of GRE scores?** "Yes and no. They [Latinos] all talk to me about the same thing . . . 'They are not going to accept me here! I know they won't because my GRE is too low.' They don't think they are going to get into the graduate school they want, even though they know an insider. . . . That's the big divider; that's the big gate. If you can get through that GRE gate . . . then. . . ?"

Both Laura's and Consuelo's stories are typical. They reflect the problems encountered by Latinos as they try to enter institutions which, for a variety of reasons, place too much emphasis on standardized testing for admissions. In one case, a student with a composite GRE score exceeding admission requirements for her current program faced additional testing to enter another department within the same institution. Although successfully completing a masters degree, she claimed she was prevented from entering the doctoral program simply because her current GRE score was just below the recently increased level now required by the department. All aspiring graduate students must deal with the rigors of standardized testing; indeed, it seems a rite of passage. Yet the experiences described by Latino respondents suggests the impact is greater on populations not prepared for such obstacles. Even Consuelo, a career teacher for five years, was not prepared for the test. She attributes her success to astute observation and dogged persistence. But as Laura points out above, many Latinos and Latinas, already struggling with feelings of inadequacy and low self-esteem, are further intimidated by GRE "horror stories" and simply give up trying to get in a graduate program.

Perceptions about departmental resistance varied between merely a lack of encouragement or mild reluctance to overt gender, age, and ethnic discrimination. For example, Margarita, now a high ranking administrator at a Texas university, cannot forget her first encounter with departmental attitudes and the sarcasm and rudeness that greeted her:

> "The [University C] was very different. I fought my way in there. I was told that there were many applicants that were qualified and . . . [they said] 'we'll call you, don't call us.' Since my husband couldn't leave the state [because of his work], it was absolutely imperative that the [University C] is the place where I go. I persisted in harassing the graduate advisor Dr. [Y] and we became buddies later on. But for a while it was tense. I remember the last conversation with her when I finally called [about the admissions decision] . . . 'This is [Margarita]' . . . and she said . . . '***I know*** who this is' . . . and I said, 'I really need to know because I had decisions to make. . . .' She thought she put me on hold but in fact she connected us to the department chair and [I] was still on the phone line so I didn't breathe. Then she said . . . 'It's [Margarita] again. What do you want to do. . . ?' The department chair talked a little bit and he finally said . . . 'Let her in.' She tapped the phone again and said . . . 'You're in' . . . and I said . . . 'Thank you. . . .'"

Nilda, a Mexican American professor from Texas, met with insult and overt prejudice upon her entrance to graduate school:

> "The hindrance is always there. There are never many professors who encourage Mexican Americans to go on to graduate school. I was lucky that I met professors who encouraged me to go. . . . [But other] professors would make comments like . . . 'You're a different kind of Mexican American. You break all the rules.' It took me a while to figure out what they meant by 'the rules,' but then I figured out they had a standardized view of what a Mexican American should be like. If you are going to graduate school and you're doing well, they must have considered me to be deviant. When you listen to those types of remarks it's a hindrance because it discourages students from continuing or discourages them from doing well in school. But I had lived in California and I knew about the discrimination and the prejudice in the State of Texas, particularly South Texas. So I just ignored it because I wanted to get my degrees and I wanted to excel."

In most cases students are never aware of departmental attitudes and how they affect their admissions. Sometimes it takes an insider to uncover the forces of departmental resistance. A Chicano professor at a Southwestern university recalled the following event:

> "I recruited my first Latino student here in [the 1980's] and he was admitted. I had another recruit ready for Spring. My department head who supported me totally, slipped out [with a comment to me] . . . 'I'm not sure that we have to bring in more Latinos . . .' and I said . . . 'Why?' He said . . . 'I've always heard stories that Latinos really stick together.' . . . I asked . . . 'What does that mean?' 'We're talking about bringing in students.' 'Are they going to stick together?' he asks. And I said . . . 'Look how many Anglos you've got here. We're outnumbered' . . . And he said . . . 'I just heard these stories'

> . . . And I said . . . 'Don't you guys stick together? There's [a large number] of you. He said I misunderstood him, and I said . . . 'Can I bring the student in or not?"

Above all other factors deemed essential to the respondents' decision to attend graduate school, the most important was financial support. Over 80 percent felt it was very important, so much so that many Latinos claimed they would not have gone to graduate school had they not received fellowships, assistantships or other forms of financial support. This confirms the results of researchers who point out the need for more financial support to underrepresented populations, (see Justiz, Wilson, & Björk, eds., 1994; Brown *et al.*, 1994). For the most part, Latinos in the study received or secured multiple sources of support. Overall, nearly 75 percent indicated they used personal resources such as family/spouse income, work, or loans. Sixty-six percent were awarded internal or external fellowships, and 55 percent received assistantships or grant support sometime during their graduate career. Sorted by ethnic group, Mexican Americans and Cubans mentioned personal resources more frequently than other forms of support, while Puerto Ricans mentioned receiving assistantships and other grant support more frequently than other sources.

GETTING ON: THE PROCESS OF ADJUSTMENT

". . . . [It] was a bit of a cultural shock because I had never been in a place that was so academically competitive. . . ." ***Reinaldo, an island Puerto Rican.***

From outward appearances, acculturation into graduate school seemed not to be a major problem for Latinos in the project. The division was almost equal between those who experienced some uncomfortable adjustment and those who did not. There are generally two common sets of problems encountered by almost every new graduate student: adjusting to a new academic community and facing the rigors of graduate work. The Latinos here were no exception. Alienation from professors, loss of social or family life, demanding studies, self doubt, and academic struggles were common graduate student maladies encountered by Latinos as well. A few described transitions from careers or other exciting activities to take up graduate work. An equal number recalled their academic deficiencies in writing proficiency, study skills, and, for a few, language fluency. In some cases, respondents felt their undergraduate adjustments were more strenuous than their graduate school transitions.

However, outward appearances were deceiving for even common graduate student experiences concealed tensions among the Latinos which should not to be taken lightly. Interwoven into their graduate ordeals were cultural experiences which many related directly to their specific ethnic backgrounds. While most graduate students simply cope and adjust, the impact on Latinos may have consequences not readily appar-

ent to non-Latinos. Experiences adjusting to graduate school for Latinos fell into three taxonomic categories listed here by frequency of response: **academic culture shock, ethnic renewal or recognition, and survival**.

Academic Culture Shock

These were experiences expressed by Latinos as conflicts between their ethnicity and academe. One high ranking Latino administrator had to adjust to *"the absence of culture and the absence of interest in some of the things I was interested in. . . . If I had been allowed to take Spanish, if there had been some Chicano faculty, I might have had a slightly different approach to higher education."* Reinaldo, a Puerto Rican social scientist from the island describes his experience:

> "The program itself . . . was a bit of a cultural shock because I had never been in a place that was so academically competitive. . . . The behavior of professors and students was really cut-throat. Having been in Puerto Rico teaching, even for a year, I was used to an academic culture that was much more cooperative than competitive and I was amazed at what graduate students could say to professors, what professors said to graduate students and what professors said to each other in terms of their research and what not." **How do you perceive the difference between your cultural background and experience and the academic culture?** "One thing is that we [Puerto Ricans] tend to be much more into being collaborative and cooperative with each other. I think we also tend to be less willing to be very critical of each other, simply because we tend to be in a very small and contained [place] and, in a sense, isolated academic culture. If you're going to review somebody's book in a very negative [way], you're going to have to look at that person for the rest of your life in this department and it doesn't really make for the most critical position. . . . You just can't lash out at somebody the way people did at [University B]. That would be a surprise. It was also very invigorating on the other hand, but it's not something that one could reincorporate when one comes back to Puerto Rico. I think there's also a problem in . . . the type of expectations . . . created for students at places like Berkeley or Wisconsin. . . . [They are] very good research institutions . . . [but] I think their expectations of what one can do and also what one can expect [is different]. . . ."

Subsequent conversations with Puerto Rican graduate students in the sciences confirmed the problem of adjusting to the competition. Discussing the topic, one island Puerto Rican at a Midwest research institution at first ignored the "cut-throat" competitiveness. Only when compelled to *"learn the game"* and behave in kind, was he accepted and perceived as *"intelligent"* by his non-Latino colleagues.

From another Puerto Rican perspective:

> ". . . [I]t's inherently conservative", says Raul, who attends school in the U.S. Southwest. "When you come from a context that . . . has never incorporated you, to one that is the bastion of mainstream society, the academy, it's hard, because not many people are going to be here that understand or want to understand or care what you bring. All they see is a student in the classroom and the academy is a relatively privileged arena historically speaking. It [means] being able to communicate your ideas without coming off as angry . . . 'He's just an angry ghetto youth', and it's easy to be labeled. I heard indirectly from some students that I was given compliments from some faculty . . . 'He's very street wise' . . . as opposed to what? Am I not intelligent? Is it possible to be both? Dealing with those adjustments I think you have to prove yourself intellectually as a student and as a potential scholar and just deal with these differences and not accentuate them. I think I've done well to relate. We're all [social scientists], we have common goals. But at the same time I remember holding on to what I have, what motivated me to get here. It's not easy for me to let go and I don't want to let go, so I've had to adjust. I had to monitor my behavior sometimes in what I say, not because it's rude but because it may be [misinterpreted]; because of the different context . . . working class Puerto Rican, working class minority as opposed to mainstream middle class America for the most part."

Conflicts over the ethnic/cultural values of cooperation and collaboration was not relegated to Puerto Ricans only. Mexican Americans experienced it as well with subtle variation. Nilda, from Texas felt:

> "Yes . . . it was culture shock . . . [especially with] the interaction with the students. . . . When I said I was from the Valley, [meaning South Texas] . . . they interpreted somehow that I was from the Valley in California and they thought I had come from San Jose or Berkeley. When I said it was Texas A&I, it was like . . . a nobody institution. [Yet,] it's a very competitive environment. So the students were not very friendly and I thought one reason was because I was from Texas A&I and they probably thought I had to catch up. But I found out at the end of the year that I didn't have to catch up. My GPA was very high. They were the ones that needed to catch up. But then I found out it was very competitive. I would ask them . . . 'Are you writing your research paper?' . . . 'No.' 'What are you going to write on?' . . . 'I don't know,' . . . and then all of a sudden they would turn in . . . 60 to 100 page papers and I thought . . . 'they were working on it all the time!' They just didn't want to reveal what they were studying. It was a competitive environment and I had a hard time dealing with that because A&I was so friendly and everybody interacted and we helped one another and I [felt] a bit of isolation . . . the first two years."

For a number of Latinos, the tendency toward establishing personal relationships and incorporating family values in daily life played important roles in adjusting to graduate school. Throughout the interviews, Latinos from all ethnic backgrounds remarked how their first impressions of graduate school were imprinted with the contrast between their personal and family values and the sometimes opposing values of academic culture. Jaime, a Chicano professor, had this to say about personally adjusting to academic culture:

> "I remember . . . there would be tension between myself and the instructors because I insisted on a personal relationship with people, and they wanted to remain aloof. I would go in and ask a lot of questions during office hours because I thought that was what office hours were for. While I was there I would also try to establish a personal relationship. I thought that was the way people interacted with each other and people were very resentful of this. I always thought there was this sort of tension between myself and the instructors but they wanted to have this barrier between themselves and the students and I just never thought that barrier should exist. I mention this because I think this is a very common attitude. Instructors want to maintain this barrier between themselves and the students and I think many of the instructors buy into that culture and an attitude that I think hinders education, especially in the sciences."

Leticia, a mainland Puerto Rican, explains how ingrained family values affected her graduate school acclimation:

> "The adjustment process I think was extremely difficult. . . . I hadn't realized how different my life was from other people's because my family and my friends were like myself, [until] I moved to a place where people were [different]. . . . At the time, I thought Protestants were very cold and distant and insincere. So I had a hard time making friends that I felt comfortable with. In school I always found that everyone I met put school first and I found that very odd. I hadn't lived away from home so I wasn't used to being away from people who I loved and who loved me. That aspect of it was difficult as well . . . Family and friends and taking an evening off and enjoying life, that's what I always did. So I was surprised, people were always surprised, that I spoke to my parents twice a week, and they came to visit twice a month."

Ethnic Renewal or Recognition

These were adjustments to graduate school characterized by several themes, somewhat differentiated by ethnic group. One theme involved the process of ethnic awakening and, in some cases, becoming aware of one's "minority status" for the first time. A second theme described the transformation to professorship as a sometimes

turbulent blending of academic culture with ones' own ethnic values. Finally, a few Latinos portrayed their adjustment as a struggle to maintain their ethnic identity by fending off the influences of academic and institutional acculturation. These fascinating phenomena are contained within a wealth of transcripts and can only be touched upon here. Suffice to say, the issues of ethnicity and minority status for Latinos is complex, bear directly on adjustment to graduate school culture, and ultimately impact the formation of a Latino professoriate. For example, some Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and "Other Latinos" depicted ethnic renewal or recognition as an "identity journey" in which the graduate experience was instrumental in defining their ethnicity. This was the case for Angelica, a high level Cuban administrator:

> ". . . . [L]iving in Southern California I had felt a great deal of prejudice at the high school I attended. There were very few Latinos there. . . . I didn't know it but I had a very negative view of Hispanic culture [throughout] the world. At that time, the Chicano movement was very active but I didn't identify with . . . [it], so I felt displaced. I felt that I didn't belong anywhere. When I went to University [Y], I [met] several graduate students from Latin America, from Puerto Rico, and from Mexico who were very well rooted in their culture. So I began to become proud of being Cuban. At that time I didn't consider myself Cuban American . . . [but] I would say that I was Cuban. [Then] I discovered the whole array of Latin American literature and culture. I started traveling to South America . . . Mexico, and . . . discovered that Mexican culture was immense, rich, and vast. So . . . in graduate school I rediscovered the Spanish culture in America in a very general sense . . . and returned to Cuba for the first time in many years. Those were very momentous trips in my formation as a Latina and as a professional. . . ."

For others, their own ethnic boundaries were reshaped by first-time encounters with other Latino populations. Tensions resulted in the process of redefining individual ethnic identity. Alfonso, a Cuban American professor living in the Southwest remembers:

> ". . . . Once you get into an academic environment the big difference in Texas was that I came into contact for the first time since I left [South America] with a Hispanic community and had to learn to understand Mexican Americans, which at first put me off a lot. . . . We were simply not on the same wavelengths. The ethnic and the immigrant experiences are quite different, as most Cubans would tell you. Although I was born in the United States, I really do consider myself coming from an immigrant experience rather than an ethnic experience."

Coming to grips with the "minority" label for the first time was an adjustment encountered more frequently by island Puerto Ricans, Cubans and "Other Latinos", than Mexican Americans. These "minority" experiences left tell-tale imprints with last-

ing effects. John, a Latino scientist, described his feelings and observations upon arriving in graduate school with a minority fellowship, and followed with insights on his transformation over the course of becoming a scientist:

> "Beyond academic adjustments I think there were some adjustments to the perception that I was a minority student. I don't think that I was treated that differently but I think that . . . people were aware of my ethnic background, perhaps partly because I had an NSF [National Science Foundation] minority fellowship, but I also believe because of my surname and my complexion. How do people see me as being different? Am I different? How different am I? In what ways am I different? Does that mean that I should behave differently or interact differently within the department and with other groups? There was still their perception that I was Hispanic and to some extent, I was never quite sure how people perceived that. . . . Does that imply something beyond the ways in which I think, or the ways in which I perceive things? People I think were quite sensitive [to me], but I was aware of that sensitivity. I don't think that it was an obstacle for me or that there was anything particularly negative about it, but that was the atmosphere."

> "I think there's a very strong science culture in our society that is different than the culture in many other disciplines or many facets of our society. There is an ethnic component in that most science in this country is dominated by white males. There has been a lot of progress I believe in involving women in recent years. But, by and large, my view is that people that are faculty and researchers, practitioners of science, have not included very many ethnic groups. For someone in transition into a science culture there's an extra hurdle or obstacle or adjustment for a student who has a different cultural or ethnic background. They are essentially leaving their peers who have strong links to that ethnic or cultural background. My view is that much of the difficulties stem from the lack of a critical mass of people who have similar ethnic backgrounds, interests, and cultural identity."

Mexican Americans, more often than other Latinos, associated their ethnicity with a struggle for identity against the forces of academic cultural change. A few remarked they disliked institutional/departmental culture because it never interested them. Others interpreted faculty disinterest and apathy as institutional cultural insensitivity. María, now a full professor in education, at first reacted strongly to institutional culture, especially as it related to her views on education:

> "Yes, there was a big adjustment for me. First of all I was older so I didn't fit in anywhere and then I really felt that a lot of the people at [University R] didn't have a handle on reality in terms of children. Because I was in an education field I felt that a lot of the professors didn't have a handle on reality and the kind of stuff that they taught was just airy fairy, so I was always challenging my professors. . . .

> The thing with me was I didn't want to become a [University R] person. I was always very careful to maintain who I was." **What's a [University R] person?** "If you grow up at [University R] some people have been there for ten years, there's a certain type. They have a certain way of speaking. You can't talk to them for two minutes before you know they're from [University R]. It's just a certain mystique or a certain way of behaving. I had seen that and I didn't want to be that. It was almost like something that people put on . . . like a suit of clothing that they wear, and they want to be perceived a certain way, so they speak and use certain words. . . . It's like a different culture at [University R]. When I saw that I said, no, that just can't be me. So I tried to maintain who I was all the way through. Everything, my culture, my way of thinking about children, my feeling about what I thought kids were going through in school and what we really needed to address."

Survival

Survival experiences, as implied in many of the preceding stories, were coping strategies common not only to Latinos and Latinas, but to all underrepresented populations in higher education. These defense mechanisms manifest as attitudes and demonstrations striving to surmount the stigma of perceived cultural or academic deficiencies. *"Having to prove yourself"* [as a Latino, since]*"no one is looking out for you,"* were common refrains. These reactions were exacerbated by underlying fears that people would think that they had been selected for admission because of affirmative action initiatives, rather than on their academic merit. The responses were sometimes extreme: aggression, and overreaction or withdrawal and self doubt. Latinos and Latinas from all ethnic groups commented on coping behavior not unlike the following:

> **Enrique, do you recall any adjustments you had to make to [University Y]?** "Language. . . . I was very much concerned about my ability to communicate with all these guys from Harvard and Yale and Wisconsin-Madison and Berkeley that were going to graduate school there. I'll never forget the first seminar. It was in conceptual analysis and we went around introducing ourselves and what institution we were from and what our degrees were and it got to me. I mentioned my name and what school I was from and he went on to the next one. Then he came back to me and says . . . 'Which St. Mary's, there are twenty of them in the United States?' The first quarter I was there I became a super worker. I put in long days, sixteen to twenty hour days, even when I wasn't in school. I was almost paranoid about not having the [social] science background I needed to keep up, so while some graduate students were reading 350-700 pages a week for a class I'd double it. I buried myself and worked with a vengeance. [In] my first seminar, a presenter came up. I cut his throat. I took him apart critique-wise in the hardest, coldest way I could. You should know I had the advantage of having been an offi-

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> cer in the military too . . . the cross cultural thing to me was not important. I had survived in the white world already and I could operate in those circumstances, as a person of color because even in the military there was a racial thing I had to deal with all the time. But here in graduate school, I wasn't worried about that. I was here under several pressures. First, I was from a very small liberal arts college. It didn't have any kind of reputation and nobody would know what my pedigree was, and second, I was a Chicano and I had to not just put my best foot forward, I had to multiply that by the power of ten. That's why . . . I went to graduate school with a vengeance that first quarter. But halfway through my first year people started toning me down . . . 'you don't have to do that, just slow down. . . .'"

Just the opposite survival strategy is represented by Latinos who tend to withdraw and become reluctant to speak out on issues. Self-doubt is at the core of the issue here. Participants described it as, *"a sense of not belonging, feeling stupid . . . that someone made a terrible mistake and you weren't supposed to be there. But until they find out, you pretend you belong."* This perception is not uncommon for many graduate students from any background adjusting to graduate work. Yet for Latinos these feelings stem from a variety of sources. For example:

> "I think the concept is a question of self-doubt," says Raul, "and I think that's what's going to happen when you're the only woman [Mexican or African American or Latino] in the department. You are going to have to deal with that . . . . You ask yourself . . . 'What am I doing here?' But that's a question that all graduate students may ask because it can be an alienating experience with faculty members. I don't think it's only minority students or women . . . but I think it can be a person from a working class background, [or from] a family that may not have a background in education. That's even more glaring for students of color because they don't see people like them[selves]. Because once you achieve [in graduate school] you have [to overcome] your last name or your color or comments like . . . 'I didn't know you were Hispanic' or 'I didn't know you were from New York.' Then they look at you in a different way. I think for me I've always been able to manage that because when I go home I'm still the same person I was before I left home."

For "Other Latinos", survival issues included learning when to speak out and how to define their mission as cultural brokers within an alien environment. On these issues, Consuelo remarks:

> "I've been working in [public schools] that are very, very diverse, with lots of minorities and lots of teachers and in all communities that . . . for [many] years have been very diverse. Then I come to this university and what I see is that I really have to figure out where I'm going to speak from. Do I say stuff in class that I really feel that I

> want answers for, do I speak the truth, at what cost. . . ? Because when I bring up issues to professors they quickly just cut you off. It happens all the time, it's just like being in elementary school. There are professors who can't answer questions about culture . . . but won't speak to culture. [They say] 'every one is the same here', and you think . . . but everyone is not the same here. We need to think carefully. Remember, [minority] children are not doing well in school . . . They [professors] can't hear that kind of talk. Simple talk, but they can't hear it. Neither can my fellow students. Every now and then I'll have a student come up to me and say . . . 'Thanks for always talking in our class. I have been trying so hard to become more enlightened about culture and nobody talks about it here.' Learning how to do that has been the greatest challenge. Learning how to talk about these things and deciding to say . . . 'I don't care . . . we need to talk about it.' It needs to happen and if something happens because I spoke up, I don't care, it's too bad. . . ."

Latino adjustments to graduate school culture were behavioral events characterized as academic cultural shock, ethnic renewal or recognition, and survival. These events occurred in various ways depending upon circumstances. Although some experiences appeared common to all graduate students, ethnic-specific issues became masked by assumptions that most Latino behaviors are identical regardless of ethnic differences. Ethnic renewal and minority recognition, for example, had different implications for Mexican Americans or Chicanos/as than for Puerto Ricans or Cubans. Differences relating to immigrant-like experiences were detected even between mainland and island Puerto Ricans. Yet rarely are such distinctions recognized, let alone incorporated into graduate programs. Institutions should no longer presume that common reactions to academic culture are rooted in similar cultural soil. If adjusting to academe had important cultural and ethnic undercurrents, then what can we learn about the Latino transitions in completing a graduate degree?

METAMORPHOSIS: GRADUATE SCHOOL TRANSITIONS AND COMPLETION

Transition

". . . . I had a professor look me right in the eye and ask me in class . . . 'Do you think you're dumb because you're Puerto Rican?' And that was from another Latino professor. . . ." Raul

Transforming entry level students into master's and doctoral candidates involves some level of conflict. Lessons learned are demanding and sometimes painful. According to Latinos in the study, important transformations came, not surprisingly, from interactions and relationships with faculty. Some changes were caused by ethnic

tensions and conflict beyond the common challenges confronted by all graduate students. When asked if they encountered any difficulties in graduate school, slightly more than half the Latinos responded affirmatively. When asked if they encountered any barriers to completing their degrees, more than half answered "No." The reason for this pattern of responses is not exactly clear. Apparently more respondents encountered difficulties which were not perceived as obstacles preventing them from pursuing their goals, while fewer encountered barriers viewed as setbacks in their educational progress. Whatever the perception, the frequency of responses to these two questions revealed interesting patterns of ethnic conflict.

Latinos encountering barriers to completing their degrees clustered their responses around conflicts with faculty and other events commonly endured by many graduate students. The majority who experienced difficulties during their graduate education remarked about life traumas or common academic problems - tension over qualifying exams, getting the right classes, taking difficult classes, academic stress, finding a major professor or dissertation committee members, and so on. However, an overwhelming number perceived their problems related to the faculty, and the issue most frequently associated with them involved ethnicity. These issues, many manifesting from Latino cultures, were categorized and sorted by frequency into the following groups: **overt attitudes, covert attitudes, general faculty problems,** and **Latino faculty problems.** There were no unique distributions by ethnic group for nearly all Latinos related similar experiences.

Overt Attitudes

Episodes with faculty included perceptions of open and direct ethnic discrimination or racism. Such incidents were often recounted as graduate school "horror stories" about obstacles to overcome while getting a degree. They were recalled as sarcastic, sometimes humiliating comments from professors. One Chicano remembered writing a critique of required readings, *"If this is all true, maybe we should have all gone to plumbing school. . . .' The professor wrote back . . .'You know, if it wasn't for Affirmative Action programs maybe that's where you would be."* In some cases, events had significant negative impact. For example, Alejandra recounts the following incident with a female professor in a prestigious graduate program:

> "Roughly the first half of the semester [the professor] would copy my papers and pass them out to the rest of the seminar members [saying] 'This is the kind of paper I want, it's a wonderful paper,' until the day she invites us all to . . . her house. [Professor X] asks me where I was from. Thinking instead of saying Florida, I said Cuba, and from that day forward there was nothing I could do right. Absolutely nothing. I would get my papers back and there would be a cross mark on it. . . . The one thing in my life that I had been praised about was my ability to write, my ability to speak well. . . . [But] that [change] was

> . . . linked [to] her finding out that I'm Cuban. . . . This [was a] predominant attitude in that department at [University B]. If you were studying English Literature you damn well better be a WASP [White Anglo Saxon Protestant] and if you weren't, they were going to make your life miserable. Now this same woman . . . got herself in trouble because she was flunking incoming freshmen undergraduates. . . . All had to take an entrance exam in writing and she was flunking anybody with a Hispanic name, automatically flunking them. It was just the Latinos. . . . African Americans were okay. . . . So no one would help me. I had lost my funding my second semester because of this person."

Alejandra received her doctorate, but became so disillusioned with academe that she consequently decided not to pursue faculty positions. Pedro, a Mexican American student, admittedly tried to educate professors on the nuances of Latino culture. He also questioned whether he should stay in the program. He recounted the following series of insensitive events:

> "I had difficulty with one Assistant Professor in my area about cultural things. We've had some communication breakdowns. . . . It is hard for me to try to explain this because he was saying some very rude things like . . . '[Pedro] you ought to consider dropping out of the program. You need to write [your papers in] active voice' . . . I said . . . 'I know I need to write in active voice, but . . . I think in passive voice. . . .' I tried to explain something like 'the bullet fell', rather than 'I dropped the bomb' . . . and he wasn't interested in that. I remember once telling him . . . maybe my communication hasn't been too direct. I [explained] about how Mexicans tend to [talk] around [the subject using] indirect communication. . . . There's [saving] face involved in all this and he says . . . '[Pedro] I prefer to be very direct; that way there's no back stabbing'. . . . It was just a series of things, one comment after another. Then he talked to the [department] Chair and said . . . 'I don't think [Pedro] is a very good candidate'. . . . He's been the only person in the whole department that I have had problems with, who I felt was actively thinking . . . '[Pedro] is really not the person we want to have here'. I remember one time he said . . . 'You may know a lot about Mexico but that's not going to get you through the program,'. . . comments that weren't even elicited, and I wondered what I had said or done that prompted him to say that. There was one time that he said . . . '[Pedro] when I used to be [in the private sector], I would spell out the worst scenario for the people who are going to be my assistants . . . and those people who listened to the darkest things, and stuck around, found out it wasn't really that bad and they became top performers.' [He is] a very competitive type guy' . . . . I was thinking he probably didn't have too many Mexican Americans or women work for them, because there's a certain amount of relationship building. He's very cold at times. I just haven't been real happy with him. Crazy as it is, I have a comp about a week from tomorrow and he is writing the questions. . . . I know that he had problems with [international] students . . . with lan-

> guage abilities and I think . . . this is just open hostility. . . . I brought it up to my department Chair and he said . . . 'This is not a cultural problem. What you're talking about is a personality problem' . . . And I said . . . 'I'd like for them to treat me the way I'd like to be treated, because I know that the people that he's worked with are very competitive . . . there isn't that emotional tie between people. . . .' I said, 'I'd like some nurturing and this is the way I work,' and so on. . . . 'Well [Pedro], you're not going to get that here. It just doesn't work' . . . That's what my department chair told me. . . . I find insensitivity, just the lack of bringing sensitive people in. You see people [here] that are just not sensitive to Mexicans. . . . I remember one prof . . . asking me [at a party] . . . 'What are your Christmas plans?' . . . . 'We'll be going to Mexico, we'll probably go down on the bus. . . .' 'Oh, so you're going to be riding down there with the goats and chickens on the bus'. . . . My wife's feeling was . . . I don't want to talk to that professor again. It's been tough. What do you say, and what do you not say at certain times?"

For a very few Latinos conflicts with professors resulted in serious graduate student abuse. Consuelo felt undermined and threatened when she realized a professor was manipulating her into a suspicious research situation to take advantage of her ethnicity and expertise working with Chicanas/os:

> ". . . . I decided that I would not do the research [with her]. . . . I said, 'I had to take another course. I can't take your course,' and she said . . . 'That's fine.' That afternoon she [tried to] find money for me and said . . . 'I'll write all the paper work, I'll get all the subject reviews, I'll get everything done, just do the research with me because you are Mexican and you can understand students and I need you to do these interviews . . . because if I do them they're not going to sound the same,' . . . really pushing me. Then I noticed that even one of the heads of one of our departments was in on it and I noticed another professor was in on it. She treated me terribly in class, doubted everything I said. They all worked together on the same project. I feel that my reputation was [ruined] . . . after [I said no]. I have been undermined. I had [student assistants in public school] we'd meet with, and she'd say . . . 'you don't have to do what [Consuelo] says, do whatever.' She turned all of them against me. It was really a bad situation as their teacher. . . . Anyway, I got out of the situation, but now I have all these people that I have to deal with . . . because I want to deal with minority issues. . . ."

Covert Attitudes

Covert attitudes were experienced as subtle, indirect bias or discrimination on the part of faculty and departments. Such interactions may have been conscious or unconscious, real or imagined, and were variable in intensity. Nonetheless, the conse-

quences for Latinos may be as profound as overt discrimination. In one case, a Chicana doctoral candidate sensed a *"lack of empathy with my research interest within my faculty . . . . Intercultural, cross cultural issues were not interesting to them . . . nor were they well informed about them."* Demoralized by faculty apathy and lack of guidance, and faced with the challenge of changing topics or departments, she admittedly became distracted with other pursuits and now believes she will never complete her degree.

Covert attitudes are very difficult to identify. Though events may be combinations of discrimination or something more benign, they still present difficult hurdles for Latino graduate students. Anita, a Puerto Rican from New York, describes such a combination. Feeling stigmatized by her ethnicity, she confronted a tradition within her discipline which discourages students from studying within their own ethnic community:

> "I think that it took me so long [to get the degree] partly because I wanted to take my advanced exams earlier and some of the professors that I was working with thought that I should wait and do some more work. I think they were just holding me back in a way. When you talk about issues like racism, it's so complicated and so subtle. It wasn't really direct but it was just all the little things that happened. I am not sure if it's only an issue of racism because I know other students had trouble too and they weren't people of color so it's complicated. But I think in my case . . . I remember when I said to one of my professors that I was Puerto Rican. He said . . . 'No, you're Cuban'. . . trying to tell me who I was more than letting me identify myself as who I know I am. The fact that [University C] is surrounded by a White and Dominican neighborhood that's pretty poor, and [there are] stigmas that are associated with being Puerto Rican in New York, when you say you're Puerto Rican in a place like [that], people look at you like . . . 'What are you doing here?' . . . I think if you're an island Puerto Rican you almost have more prestige, but when you're born in New York and raised in New York, at least the professors that I had, had a hard time relating to me. For example, I wanted to do a cultural anthropology project in Puerto Rico and they told me I couldn't because I was Puerto Rican. I told them that I had never been to Puerto Rico, so they didn't quite know what to do with me. That happened earlier in my graduate experience. Then I changed advisors. . . . She's an African American and it was a lot easier with her. She understood where I was coming from and the kind of projects I wanted to do and [she] was really affirming."

General Faculty Problems

These experiences were problems with faculty ranging from frustration with difficult professors to the trauma of being abandoned by advisors. As a result, progress toward a degree was slowed, hampered or stalled. Some respondents described trau-

matic episodes occurring at or near the dissertation stage. Isabel, a Chicana from Texas, "stopped out" of school following her experience:

> "I came out of a department that has a reputation. . . . I wasn't a token but I felt like a cause. I was the great 'Brown Hope'. I was one of the students that does everything they ask you . . . above and beyond, so I did everything right. My mentor said to me, 'Don't worry, you've been a great student. You got 4.0, you aced your orals.'. . . . In my writtens [exams] I had really high scores. He said I would have no problem getting through the graduate committee. Then he didn't show up! Not only did he not show up, he lied to me that he was there. Then I ran out of money and . . . I left the program. . . . When I told him . . . I have to go back to work, he said . . . 'Well you're just never going to finish.' He said that when people go back to work you never finish your dissertation. . . . I felt like I had been pretty much in a rut. . . . When I came back three years later, I was getting to the point where my course work was too old. [My advisor] had another professor call me and say . . . [Dr. B] can't be your chair person anymore because there's too much water under the bridge. He couldn't even [call me and] do it himself. Then [I asked] him . . . 'Would you consider being my chair person?'. . . . And he said . . . 'It has to be on [the Education program]'. . . . I said . . . 'Well I want to focus on Hispanics which often in the program is special populations, and Hispanics are a big part of that.' . . . He said . . . 'It's not [the Education program] so therefore I can't be your chair person.' So now I'm back to grad school after a three year lapse. I'm looking for a chair person. [No] one in my department will chair it and by this time most of the professors I had are gone. Thank God we found someone eventually after we went through four different people."

Professors who dropped advisees, left suddenly or even died, presented situations requiring adjustment and change. Other faculty-related problems included shifting dissertation topics and lack of support by advisors. Difficult professors were common obstacles for some like Margarita:

> "There were all kinds of [difficulties]. The worst part I guess was the humiliation that students often go through and I thought it was demeaning. . . . I had one class . . . [at University T]. . . . There was one Hispanic professor there and I was anxious to take a class with him and he was just a hell on wheels. It was outrageous. He made people cry. So I took a class with him and I swore I would not cry. I didn't until I got to my car, and [I said to] my husband, 'My babies were hungry and . . . I'm leaving. I don't have to put up with this!'. . . . And he let me spew off like a volcano. Then he said . . . 'Let's go home, because . . . if you're going to let one guy determine your future, then maybe you made a mistake in coming."

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Latino Faculty Problems

These interesting events are rarely discussed outside of Latino student circles. Such episodes sometimes were overt ethnic discrimination by Latino faculty directed toward Latino students. Although origins of the problem appear to be inter-ethnic tensions, they may also be related to socioeconomic class distinctions. From this researchers' personal experience, Latino students were more likely to encounter conflict with a Latino professor raised overseas from an upper middle class-to-elite background, than from a Latino professor raised anywhere from a middle class experience. In almost all cases, Latino students were caught off-guard by these incidents, and their reactions vacillated between anger and incredulity. Marta, a Chicana from California, had this to reveal:

> "Sadly . . . for my master's I had [problems with] this one Chicano on the committee. One of the professors told me . . . they needed to let me know not to ever use that person again because he really tried to sabotage my candidacy. [The Chicano professor had said] that I was unprepared and that my research wasn't original and all that kind of stuff. . . . I think they felt kind of sad that here there was one Mexican on the committee and he was trying to sabotage another Mexican. They were very reluctant to tell me but I think they felt that I didn't have a clue that this guy is out to . . . 'shoot her down'. One of them even told me . . . '[Marta], I don't want you to ever ask him for a letter or to help you. . . . Now that you're going to go on for your Ph.D., for your dissertation, don't put him on the same level.' I felt hurt but I thought that's the way it is sometimes. Somebody else said the same thing had happened to them. Who knows what was in his mind. I never confronted him. . . ."

For Raul, the differences encountered were subtle, almost subliminal. His story involves issues of class and ethnicity:

> "Sometimes even with the faculty member I work with, I am not getting the respect I feel I should get or the support . . . at least sincere support. Where I [come] from, being real, sincere, and genuine are very important [qualities] because people can see through you. 'Don't try to B.S. me, be real.' I didn't get much of that from the person I worked with. I think she was trying to help me, but in her way. She couldn't see that there were certain things and certain beliefs I had. I'm not blaming her because her job is not to be a counselor. I just think the strategy she took is different from the strategy I want to take to become successful. I think she felt that . . . you [should] internalize every thing from the department and . . . either do what you want to do and struggle all the way through, or do what another faculty member is doing and hopefully it will go with what you want to do. Don't worry about being mentored, get your degree and do what you want afterwards. I think that's pretty sound advice but the way it was being given . . . it confused me more. She's Latina but

> much more assimilated culturally than I am in terms of frame of mind, outlook, perception. She grew up in difficult circumstances too. I admire her for the obstacles she's overcome. But again, in one of our conversations, she said . . . 'I'm not here for those students who don't give a damn. I'm here for those students who work hard'. . . . A lot of times I think [her] assumption is that those students who fail are the ones that didn't work hard. That's not true, because there were a lot of instances for me to fail, not in school, in [my urban community] . . . the violence I confronted, the bad choices I made as a young person, just trying to get respect. . . . [P]eople I saw who were very intelligent, who did not realize their potential, those are the students I'm here for. The students who work hard will be fine and I will be there for them. But I think the students who I need to be here for, just as much if not more, are those students who are walking that fence like I was, who need to have some positive reinforcement because they are the ones struggling with the self-doubt like I was. I think that's the fundamental difference between her and me. The assumption of hard work and the work ethic. . . ."

In general, a majority of Latinos and Latinas in the study encountered personal and academic difficulties traversing graduate school. Not discussed here were the effects of personal issues for a few participants such as health or family crisis. Overall, these were far outweighed by the number of academic difficulties surfacing in the interviews. These difficulties included the hardships and stress encountered by all graduate students learning academic culture. But since faculty play a predominant role by shaping the graduate experience, barriers and difficulties encountered by Latinos were frequently associated with them. Foremost among Latinos in the project were conflicts with faculty that were perceived as directly confronting their specific ethnic culture. Within the voices and stories, patterns of conflict emerged as ethnic tension between Latinos and faculty steeped in their own academic cultures. Both Latino and non-Latino faculty were depicted by respondents as harboring covert ethnic insensitivities or displaying overt discrimination toward Latino graduate students. This is a complicated issue requiring analysis beyond the scope of this preliminary report. However, it is likely these ethnic tensions, both real and imagined, contribute to a pattern of increased ethnic interests exhibited by respondents near the end of their graduate careers.

Completion

"Why are you studying Mexican Americans? You're going to ruin your career before you even start." A comment to Pedro from a non-Latino professor at a university in Texas

At the time of their interviews, 42 Latinos, a little over half the study group, held a doctoral degree. In this cohort, the overall time to degree, calculated here as the graduate school enrollment date to degree completion date (Elapsed Time to Degree,

ETD), was on the average about 9.3 years, with the median at approximately 7.5 years. A little over 60 percent of all Latino doctorates in the study—a seemingly high number—took eight or more years to complete their degree. Time to degree by ethnic group revealed other variations. For example, only some of the Cubans and "Other Latinos" took more than eight years to complete their degrees, while many of the Puerto Ricans and the majority of the Mexican Americans fell into this category. There seemed to be no variation, however, between island or mainland Cubans or Puerto Ricans in this category. These figures seem high compared with national surveys showing the registered time to degree for U.S. Whites is 7.3 years, "Other U.S. Hispanics" is 7.5 years, 7.7 years for U.S. Mexican Americans, and 7.9 years for Puerto Ricans. In general, Latino figures are similar to U.S. Blacks with a registered time to degree of 7.9 years (Thurgood and Clark: 1995:60-61).

On the average, Mexican Americans in the project took 9.8 years to complete their degrees, followed by Other Latino populations with 9.4 years, Puerto Ricans with 8.7 years, and Cubans with eight years to finish their doctorate. There are a number of factors affecting time to degree: academic discipline, life traumas, family constraints, stopping-out, financial support, and so on. Without further analysis it is not immediately apparent which factors affected the Latinos in the study. However, one indicator might be related to the effect of part-time attendance. Findings showed that over 25 percent of the Latinos completing doctoral degrees at some point in their graduate career attended school on a part time basis for varied periods of time. Virtually all part-timers were among those who took eight or more years to complete degrees. Among them, only some Cubans and "Other Latinos" attended part-time, while many of the Puerto Ricans and the majority of the Mexican Americans enrolled on a part-time basis. Thus, part-time attendance played a role in time to degree patterns.

Gender may play an interrelated role in time to degree as well. Within the study group there were 17 women and 25 men with doctoral degrees pursuing full-time careers. The average ETD for these men was a little over six years while the women on average took 7.8 years to complete their degrees; fully 1.5 years more than the men. One factor accounting for this may be related to part-time attendance. While only 20 percent of the men went to graduate school on a part-time basis, 36 percent of the women attended part-time at some point in their graduate careers. A degree in the Humanities or Education, both notorious for lengthy time to completion, may also contribute to variance in gender completion rates. For example, 36 percent of the females completed their degrees in the Humanities or Education while only 29 percent of the men completed a doctoral degree in those disciplines. Within the study group, it was clear that gender issues had some bearing on differences in completing doctoral degrees. Indeed, early in the project gender issues (*e.g.*, research interests, family, gender discrimination, *etc.*) surfaced as major problems for Latinas regardless of ethnic background. This topic is significant, and because it deserves more attention than can be given here, it will likely be the focus of a future publication. Suffice to say, the

intensity and frequency of these gender issues no doubt had a direct, often negative affect on extending time to degree for Latinas compared to Latinos in the study.

Ethnicity also affected time to degree. One of the more interesting findings was the contrast between the relatively low level of ethnic interest motivating Latinos to enter graduate school and the high level of interest in ethnicity at completion of their degrees and beyond. As described earlier, some Latinos in the project indicated that ethnicity was a catalyst in going to graduate school, though it was less frequently mentioned than academic or career motives. When asked about the focus of their completed or intended master's or doctoral work, 70 percent of those responding indicated their thesis was, or was going to be, on an ethnically-related topic. A few Latinos shifted the focus of their doctoral work towards ethnicity after completing their master's theses. A number of patterns emerged indicating interest in ethnicity increased depending on one's generation, ethnic group, field of study, and degree of faculty interest. These patterns were often associated with turbulence between faculty and Latinos.

Although most respondents chose the focus of their graduate research, and few were dissuaded or distracted from it, many indicated their topic caused friction with their faculty advisors or department. Respondents who were among the first generation of Latinos to receive advanced degrees faced the most difficult challenges. For example, among Latino faculty, administrators, and non-academics with completed degrees, approximately 33 percent described some contention with their department or faculty over studying an ethnic topic. Mariflor's experience was particularly interesting. As a Mexican American professor now finishing her degree, she sheds light on hidden issues involving Latino research and lengthened time-to-degree:

> ". . . A number of us discontinued at the stage of writing the dissertation because the fellowship [we had] was structured for the Anglo experience. You come in, you spend so many years doing your class work, so many years doing your research, so many years doing your writing and you get your degree and you go away. But that isn't what I have found in my experience as the typical Latino experience. . . . Many of us got to that five year mark and had trouble. . . . There's been a failure to complete rate that's been disappointing to [funding organizations], but I think it's because the design was unrealistic. Given that we were coping with racism, we were also coping with departments that didn't understand what we were trying to study and therefore discounted it. For instance, it took two years for my dissertation director and me to convince [University X] that when you were studying something that dealt with Mexico, the Mexican experience or the Mexican American experience, it was not useful to have a zillion experts become your advisors. [University X's] argument was, 'It's Latin America, how could it be different?' It took us two years to overcome that. It also took my dissertation advisor to go on sabbatical to the University of New Mexico to discover a whole new world. When he came back he said . . . 'I can see why you say

> American Studies as taught by [University X], draws an America that stops short at the Mississippi River and falls off after Washington, D.C., because that's how American studies on the East Coast is.' I don't think . . . any of the others [faculty] took into account that many of us were trying to study fields that hadn't been developed, trying to look at histories that basically weren't written and it would take longer to do that [kind of research]. I think that a lot of effort got wasted."

Jaime, now a Chicano professor in the Southwest, remembers a situation regarding his comparative research between Hispanics, Anglos and Blacks:

> "The project was my choice and I was encouraged until I started coming up with results, and the faculty didn't like them. . . . One of the things we found was that ethnicity accounted for most of the variance and I kept the scores. [The faculty] began to say . . . 'It's a very small percentage of the variance'. . . . And I said . . . 'yes, but you taught me well. It's small, but it's significant'. . . and they didn't like that. Their argument was . . . 'You're only looking at four percent of the variance.' But I [responded] . . . 'Do you understand what that means in terms of human lives; that you're potentially misplacing Blacks?'. . . . [Then] I tried to make a case to make it appealing to them. I said . . . 'Everybody is getting hurt, white kids, black kids and Hispanic kids, just in different ways.' It took a little bit longer to convince them. I really had to convince them that's what the data showed."

The tendency for Latinos in the project to study their heritage was not surprising. Mexican Americans who entered graduate school after the rise of the Chicana/o movement gravitated toward related issues. Even earlier generations of Chicana/o Ph.D.s essentially retooled their academic expertise to match their expanding interests. According to one Chicano administrator, "*. . . . there was just no choice. . . . Chicano literature was not being taught, not being talked about. There were no Chicano faculty.*" On the other hand, some Cubans and "Other Latinos" chose topics which were not necessarily ethnic, but were ethnic-related and usually focused on Latin America or on their specific national origin. Consequently, in a very few cases, these Latinos described themselves as being involuntarily pushed by their professors into an "identity journey," to study domestic Latino ethnicity. Roberto, a Cuban professor in Miami, captured the essence of this ethnic transformation:

> "My MA was on the relations between art and politics in Cuba and Puerto Rico, and the dissertation was on Cuba's foreign policy. Both of these were really ethnic related kinds of issues. I always believe that one way people learn is by personalizing knowledge. In a way it's unfortunate and in a way it's fortunate. The unfortunate aspect is I feel like many Latinos who have been suddenly pushed. I don't know what is choice and what is structure, but many of us are doing Latin American studies because we have the language skills. Sometimes, we have the interest. There is almost a pre-supposition

> that this is what you're going to do, unwritten as it might be. It's also a way of discovery. I didn't go to [University P] thinking I was going to do this. Why was I going to take Latin American history? When people start telling you you're a minority, your identity is created by others . . . Well, if I'm a minority I need to discover what this minority is, what Latin America is. So the personal becomes professional in that sense."

Puerto Ricans were more varied than other Latinos in choosing between ethnic or non-ethnic related topics. One unique problem encountered by a few was the faculty perception of Puerto Rican culture. According to Reinaldo:

> "I had this huge falling out with someone in the department because he constantly argued that I was a Latin American and therefore I really would not be doing my thesis on Puerto Rico since I was in the Latin America area program. He didn't consider Puerto Rico as part of Latin America, so therefore I shouldn't be working on Puerto Rico. . . . I tried to ask him where it was located and he was never able to tell me exactly where it was."

Even among Latino scientists, whose fields of study are not conducive to ethnic applications, there was intense commitment to the community and to recruiting Latinos into academe. According to one chemical engineer involved in recruiting Latinos to science, *"I didn't focus on [*ethnicity*] as a graduate student. As a faculty member when I made my decision to come to [*the university in the Southwest*] it played a big role."* When asked if he was involved in ethnic research, a Puerto Rican scientist replied, *"No. If it had been today, maybe. You see I had no desire. . . . I was a science person then. But if you describe me today, I'm a scientist who happens to be involved in multicultural education."* A few Puerto Rican science students wanted to return to the island to teach rather than seek careers in a highly competitive mainland research institution. For Latino scientists, significant activities outside the lab involved recruiting and multicultural activities. Some were active in a number of organizations, such as the Society for the Advancement of Chicanos and Native Americans in Science (SACNAS), or NSF Minority programs established specifically to attract Latinos and other underrepresented groups to the sciences.

There were those in social science and humanities disciplines who did not chose ethnic topics for a number of reasons, the most notable of which was to avoid being labeled a "Hispanic Scholar" and "ghettoized" as a Latino researcher. This is a significant issue, for it directly relates to cultural constraints within academic disciplines—the so called "Invisible College." The concern was more than just being labeled. It was a fear of being marginalized as a Latino researcher in a discipline that discredits such research outside the mainstream. There were a few in the study who believed it was important to develop a Latino research agenda, and others who advised against it. Those in opposition claimed it fostered "academic stereotyping." Marta, a

Puerto Rican professor, responded to the following:

> **Do you have any comments about doing ethnic research as it relates to political science?** "One of the hard things that I found, especially when I was on the job market, is that people assumed, for example, that you're a woman, therefore you should know feminist theory or you're Latina you ought to be studying some aspect of Puerto Rican ethnicity or something. . . . I think that's partly because that's been my experience. I think it's an important area for people to do research, but that it doesn't necessarily have to be done by people who are from certain ethnic backgrounds. It shouldn't be a correlation that if you are a particular sex or a particular ethnic background, therefore you must study that area. I say that only because I've noticed that's what happened to me in the field."

Arturo, a Chicano administrator in the West, noted that regional variations play a role in pursuing Latino research,

> **What's your opinion about ethnic research for Latinos?** "Its valid in its own right. I once had a faculty member tell me, 'why do you want to study Chicanos, its just like studying paraplegics?' This was at [University C], because I was interested in ethnicity and one's development of ethnicity from a psychological point of view. I think . . . an interesting phenomena that I see is [that] Chicano studies on this campus is always looking at Chicanos and always trying to raise that as an issue when you're the minority. When you become a majority, it takes on a completely different role. What I'm seeing now is a very interesting phenomena because I'm having more and more problems with the Chicano studies department. A lot of that has to do with personalities but I think its symptomatic of the fact that the minority has become the majority [in the West]. No question about it. . . . I think in the Midwest, Chicano studies and ethnicity is much more critical because it provides that link with fantasy and well as reality, with the conceptions of what they think it is versus what they know it to be. It provides that link with that ethnic inheritance that they never experienced."

Opinions varied by ethnic group and discipline on whether to encourage Latino graduate students to pursue ethnic research. Today there are more academic disciplines and departments accepting of ethnic scholarship than a decade ago. However, there are still too many unfriendly environments where Latino research is not taken seriously. Despite advancements, reluctance within certain disciplines to modify either the culture or curriculum may be one of the major obstacles preventing increases in the number of Latinos entering academe. This should be a focus for future research. Ileana, a Puerto Rican professor whose dissertation contained embedded ethnic material, is particularly interested in the issue because she had to conceal her true research interests from her colleagues:

> "My dissertation dealt with [ethnic issues in a certain discipline]. I don't think everybody else in [the field] does this. As a matter of fact, I have to be very frank with you and tell you that I have been very hesitant . . . to publish anything from my dissertation because I feel that I am alone in left field with the [ethnic] issues. And even though I have the data to back me up, I have chosen not to go out and say [it] . . . because the things that I'm saying in my dissertation are very new. . . . I was very cautious, particularly in graduate school, from taking courses like bilingual education. I did not want to be framed as a Hispanic scholar. I was very cautious to have a very serious theoretical basis. My knowledge of the theory of bilingualism is for myself. I have devoured books on it, but nobody knows about it. I wanted to be a scholar and I wanted to be out there in the field. Interestingly enough now, professionally, it oozes out of my skin. I'm so fascinated by [ethnic issues] and I feel such responsibility to deal with it that I have gone 180 degrees. I don't care what people say. I have to do this for my people but I was very cautious to get a very solid theoretical basis that would stand under anybody's scrutiny. I did not want to be framed as a Hispanic scholar. . . ." **What brought about that caution?** "I read some stuff from Hispanic scholars that I really didn't respect and I thought, 'I won't be that.' There was something in me that said . . . 'That can wait.' You have to beat the system and have all the right ideas and eventually that will open more doors."

Preliminary findings indicate the process of completing a graduate degree resulted in ethnic transformations for many Latinos in the study. At minimum, a renewal of ethnic interest and commitment to community emerged to prominence in the aspirations of newly minted master's and doctoral candidates. This theme was corroborated by research conducted by another social scientist interviewed in this study. Researching African American and Hispanic Ph.D.s and ABD's, she found these populations always wanted an education and sought the paths of least resistance to obtain it. A recurring theme in her study was a "*. . . sense of giving back to the community, being a role model, contributing something positive to the literature beyond the deficit model that exists for minorities.*"

The intensity of ethnic transformations, as revealed by this study, may have more significance in forming a Latino professoriate than was previously imagined. Intriguing data rerun in 1992[10] by the Higher Education Research Institute (HERI), suggest that Latino undergraduate faculty across the country are more involved in ethnic research and studies than any other population in academia. Responding to questions about research and teaching interests between 1989 and 1990, over 50 percent of

[10]This special HERI data run was originally requested by Eileen O'Brien and provided to this researcher through personal communication. In 1991, HERI surveyed 35,478 undergraduate faculty from 392 institutions. Only one percent of the respondents in the survey were Latino, and there were no Native Americans indicated in the data.

the Latinos surveyed said they were involved with research or writing on race and ethnicity, compared to 47 percent for Blacks, 17 percent for Asians, and 16 percent for Whites. During the same period, 30 percent of the Latino faculty surveyed taught ethnic studies courses, while only 20 percent of Black, seven percent of Asian, and five percent of White faculty taught similar classes. Without further research, it cannot be determined whether this pattern of ethnic interest among Latino faculty is a consequence of ethnic/cultural values among some Latino populations or whether this is a trend that will diminish over time as more generations of Latinos enter graduate education and become attracted to other academic interests.

Whatever the outcome, the HERI data combined with information from project interviews suggest there is a strong relationship between graduate education and a pattern of Latino interest in ethnicity. One explanation for this is that Latinos select disciplines, such as language and education, which favor ethnic research. But this alone cannot account for the increased interest, especially when so many Latinos in the study encountered resistance in their graduate programs. Another possible explanation focuses on the interplay of cultural conflict within the dynamics of the relationship between graduate school and increased ethnic interests. For instance, comments by various interviewees implied that Latino undergraduates may indeed react strongly to the conflicts between academic subcultures and their own. Finding academic cultures unappealing, intimidating, alien, or seemingly unattainable, many are not encouraged by faculty and choose not to go on to graduate school. Those who do go on or later return to school, do so initially as a result of academic and career motives.

Over time, many Latino graduate students become engaged in ethnic research interests. As the HERI data indicate, this ethnic interest is likely to occur more among Latinos than any other population in academia. According to some participants, this interest is germinated from the experiences of graduate school. For others, ethnic interests are on the surface and become cultivated by faculty and exposure to research issues. In a few cases, Latino students are "involuntarily" guided to ethnic research because they have language skills or are assumed to be interested in Latino issues by well-meaning faculty. An unknown number suppress their interests because many disciplines, such as the sciences, are not conducive to ethnic research, or barriers are erected by certain disciplines that prevent Latinos from studying their own cultures. Even worse, some Latinos conceal their interests out or fear of "ghettoization" by their colleagues. For a variety of reasons, the most notable of which are social/cultural differences, the transition through graduate school for many Latinos is linked to a growing interest in ethnic research. The conflict between ethnic group values and academic cultures in graduate school may be a catalyst for these transformations.

For Latino graduate students, the transition toward completing the degree begins by recognizing that a cultural gap exits between their specific ethnic/cultural values and the dominant values of academic subcultures: departmental, disciplinary,

institutional, and so on. Whether because of ethnicity, gender or other conditions, this transition is intensified by the turbulence of acculturation into academe. For some, ethnic research bridges the cultural gap by providing a means to maintain their specific Latino ethnicity while simultaneously adopting the mantle of the academy. For others, ethnic interests can only surface after completing the degree. Utilizing a successful adaptive strategy, many Latinos pursue ethnic research to ameliorate the forces of academic acculturation by becoming ethnic "cultural brokers" and professors too, thus attempting to create a successful blending of cultures. Shaped by the cultural grinding wheel of academia, only a few Latinos and Latinas, imbued with successful adaptive strategies for accumulating multiple ethnic identities, emerge from their graduate experience ready to pursue a commitment to both their cultural and academic communities. What then are those strategies which garner success, and what can we learn about them to enhance the graduate experience? We turn to the Latinos in the study to seek their advice.

SECTION III: ENHANCING THE GRADUATE EXPERIENCE: ADVICE AND RECOMMENDATIONS

". . .. If you learn the game, and learn how to play that game early on, it can be a fairly easy process." Juliana, a Latina professor in Texas

Nearly everyone in the study had suggestions for improving graduate education. Recommendations were interspersed throughout the interviews, but a number of questions were aimed to capture their personal and professional input. Departing from format, this section focuses on responses to only two of those interview questions. The first question asked participants for improvements upon their graduate experience. The question was sometimes phrased: "If you had the opportunity to talk to your graduate school administrators/faculty, what would you tell them about improving the graduate experience?" Answers were intended to help administrators, faculty or departments and graduate school staff enrich graduate programs. The second question asked participants to share their advice for Latinos contemplating or completing graduate school. The objective was to alert students to potential problems and prepare them for success. All responses were sorted into groups and categorized into taxonomic themes. In general, they covered a wide range of ideas, many of which would be good advice for all undergraduate and graduate students.

WHAT ADVICE WOULD YOU OFFER TO GRADUATE SCHOOLS TO IMPROVE UPON YOUR GRADUATE EXPERIENCE?

Responses were categorized into the five domains listed below in descending order of frequency. The numbers to the right indicate the frequency and percent of total responses for each category.

FACULTY/ADMINISTRATIVE ADVICE	51	38%
ACADEMIC CULTURE CHANGE	26	19%
DEPARTMENT/DISCIPLINE ADVICE 22	16%	
PROGRAM ADVICE	20	15%
STUDENT-ORIENTED ADVICE	16	12%

Below are the top five responses listed in descending order of frequency. Since many comments overlap categories, they are not sorted by domain. Interview comments are added for emphasis.

LATINOS NEED MENTORSHIP BY SENSITIVE IF NOT MINORITY FACULTY (19 responses)

Train advisor/mentors to deal with Latino academic needs. Foster special mentoring programs offering incentives for faculty to become mentors. Utilize appropriate emeritus faculty or community contacts if possible. Hire warm, sensitive faculty. According to Nilda, a Chicana professor:

> ". . . . [Y]ou need someone not only to mentor you but to sponsor you when there's a meeting or there's some grant money or there's a position that's going to become available. You need somebody there to say . . . 'Here's my assistant's name and these are her qualifications', or just show you through the ropes of academe. . . . It can be a very alienating experience and it can be somewhat discouraging if you don't know exactly what direction you're going. . . . Of course the mentor doesn't have to be Mexican American because if there aren't any, then you're out of luck. . . . But [it should be] someone who's going to sponsor you, who's going to understand your background, because I think your whole background has an input on how you're going to do in school. Someone who [can] understand your behavior and your attitudes and your values and why you want to study certain topics. If they can understand that, they can help you with the academic side."

DEPARTMENTS SHOULD PROVIDE ADEQUATE AND STEADY STUDENT FINANCIAL SUPPORT (12 responses)

> "The other thing that you have to have is steady funding which we never had," says Jaime, a Chicano professor. "In other words you can't just bring in a student, which is what we do here at [University X]. . . . If you bring in a student, you cajole them by telling them you've got great funding packages for the first year and then starting the second year you [tell them] . . . 'Gee, we don't have any money because we're recruiting first year students.' So its a little game that people play and it works because you're already committed. You've already spent a year here, what are you going to do? You're not going to drop out of a Ph.D. program, so you do whatever."

INSTITUTIONS NEED TO CHANGE THE CULTURE OF ACADEME AND CHANGE THE HOSTILE ENVIRONMENT IN DEPARTMENTS (11 responses)

Eliminate combative culture and avoid treating students as minorities.

Felipe, a non-academic in a private research firm believes: ". . . . [M]aybe the culture of academia could be [the problem]. We're essentially very authoritarian, very autocratic and so the system is set up for academics. . . . [T]his would have adverse impact on Latinos. For one, there's a certain finesse . . . a certain skill. You have to learn

> . . . to finesse the system, to finesse that culture. Many Latinos, especially if they're first generation students with uneducated or poorly educated parents and more than likely have lived in mostly segregated environments, don't know a lot about . . . handling this stuff. That's why the Latino or the faculty of color becomes so important as a guide. . . . The vast majority of [Latino faculty] are not coming from middle class families that know how to operate the middle class systems in universities. . . ."

> Guillermo is a Cuban American student studying in the West: "They purposely set up obstacle courses and if you have the tenacity then you're good enough to be in the program. But what they often don't understand is that its not that Latinos aren't up to the task, but that one of the things in our culture is . . . if you don't want us there we won't go. . . . If we go into a program where we are told . . . 'a third of you will not graduate,'. . . we look around and there's not many Latinos there to begin with. Then we go into the 'weeder' class where the professor purposely has a bad attitude towards everyone. For a lot of Latinos this translates as 'they really don't want us here, fine we just won't be here. . . ."

INSTITUTIONS NEED TO IMPROVE HIRING AND RETAINING MORE DIVERSE LATINO FACULTY (12 responses)

Ensure that recruitment programs address the needs of Latino faculty. Consider matching the ethnicity of your faculty with the kinds of Latino students you have or wish to attract. Focus on faculty retention and improve the academic environment. This is a major problem according to Mariflor, a Mexican American professor:

> ". . . . [O]ne of the readers for my dissertation was going to be a Chicano who was [at University G] teaching. But by the time I got there he had already left and they were saying they can't keep them, 'its not a good environment for them.' That's what they said twenty years ago. [Departments] really need to be much more realistic about what it takes to make a nurturing environment for somebody who is not raised in an ivy league prep school which is mostly what they still cater to. I don't know what incentive there is for them to do that. Their [endowment] donations come from a particular population but it would seem to me that in the interest of intellectual enrichment they ought to find a way to do better."

CHANGE FACULTY ATTITUDES AND GIVE TRAINING IN CULTURAL AWARENESS (10 responses)

Educate the campus about the nature of cultural bias and discrimination. Discipline and department curricula need an infusion of multicultural concepts.

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> "Now that I'm a faculty person," says Beto, a Mexican American now teaching near the East coast, "I know what the priorities should be. They should diversify the faculty and train them to be culturally sensitive. Our faculty were not culturally sensitive. I think they thought they were. But they were culturally sensitive perhaps in a very restricted sense. My recommendations: first train your people, then infuse multicultural learning and theory throughout the curriculum. You have to train people in order to do that . . . after you train them to be sensitive to see multicultural issues in whatever the content area. Then you infuse that into the content area and by infusing the curriculum. . . . I want to see it in every syllabus that goes through this department. . . . The follow up is an actual course in multicultural issues in your content area. It doesn't matter to me if you're an accountant, an engineer or a counselor, only that you develop and put together a course that talks about issues of diversity and cultural issues among those in your field."

The following comments are listed by frequency of response and directed toward faculty, departments and program administrators.

Foster Latino Student Support groups.....4

Recognize Latina issues (family, children, *etc.*). 4

Graduate schools should learn what is needed to accommodate families and female students with children (day care, flexible schedules, *etc.*).

Create orientation/transition programs/ to help students adjust. 3

Recognize cultural and class differences among Latinos. 3

Become more open, personal, casual and reach out to Latinos.....3

Improve GRE/standardized testing systems.....3

Recruit more to increase the critical mass of Latinos. 3

Create graduate student peer mentoring programs. 2

Allow more interaction among students; more organized socialization. 2

Faculty need more contact and connection with students. 2

Focus on Latino faculty retention and improve academic environment.....2

Provide a sense of community, to help fit in and be comfortable.....2

Train Latinos how to network and finesse the system. 2

Support students with academic deficiencies or problems. 2

Provide a course on multicultural issues. 2

Encourage more graduate student participation in research. 2

Provide Latino role models for recruitment and transition programs. 2

Faculty should learn to negotiate with students on research projects. 2

Create social contracts with students and set academic expectations..1
Beware of media stereotypes. 1
Departments should be committed to students success. 1
Hire a Latino Spanish speaker on staff in the department. 1
Develop more cross department collaboration to combat student isolation. 1
Academic disciplines should review policies to accommodate Latinos studying in their culture or community. 1
Market graduate programs accurately and honestly. 1
Faculty should retool their programs and policies for working professionals. 1
Create more "Grow Your Own" doctoral programs. 1
Establish and use "Early Identification" programs. 1
Provide more flexibility for students to design their degree program. 1
Provide a course in research planning (science disciplines). 1
Provide strong English and math support. 1
Offer more off-campus programs/outreach (institute weekend classes). 1
Recruitment should be geared more to community level (community college). 1
Develop more interactive classes (seminar like). 1
Expand graduate programs to attract Latinos. 1
Legitimize Latino student groups. 1
Avoid recruiting among less disadvantaged Latino populations (*i.e.*, upper class or privileged Puerto Ricans who attended private schools). 1

According to participants, two areas needed the most improvement: the faculty and academic culture. Not only were these the most important issues for Latinos responding to this question, but they consistently recurred throughout the interviews. Arturo, a high ranking Chicano administrator, combined these issues with his perspective about why so few Latinos were entering academe:

> ". . . . [W]e're trying to change a culture. We're trying to change a culture of students, by motivating them into thinking they can go beyond. . . . [Yet] we're still in the culture of the academy that doesn't allow for them. . . . It doesn't allow for much variation. The irony is that most of the hundred or so [research] institutions that train most of the people, train [them] in their own image to do the things that they're going to do. And if you look at it, most of us are not going to be in those large institutions. We're going to be teaching. There is a disjunction between what it is that we're doing in graduate education

> and what it is that people are actually supposed to be doing. I think Latinos and Latinas don't see the pay off. They would much rather go into the applied areas, into clinical psychology, law, and business where they can make money. Its tangible. The life of the academic isn't for everybody and I think a lot of Latinos get turned off because of their undergraduate experience. I think the critical point in graduate education is at the undergraduate level, letting students make a connection with somebody that makes a difference. I used to teach introductory [social science]. . . . [I] taught people who'd never take a [social science] course again. . . . It was the biggest recruiting tool . . . and you don't put your worst people [to teach it], you put your best people there. That's where you make that connection and in graduate school you have to make that connection."

Not surprisingly, issues about faculty and culture change were at the top of the list. These exemplify the turbulence between Latino values (represented by personal relationships, casual attitudes, family, and community), and the culture of academe, (seen as a cold and distant faculty). Thus, "more sensitive," "warm" faculty are desired to redress the problem. In the same context, graduate schools were encouraged to reach out more to the Latino community and encourage students to become part of the academic culture. It was clear that the most critical issues for improvement revolved around faculty and academic cultural change.

Finally, according to respondents, three factors were considered critical for completing a degree successfully: faculty mentorship, consistent financial support and student support groups. Without these many respondents admitted they would not have attended or completed their degrees. These findings merely confirm what most experienced graduate program administrators should already know.

WHAT ADVICE WOULD YOU OFFER OTHER LATINOS ENTERING GRAD SCHOOL?

". . . The three major things are: have a good support system, get a clear sense of who you are and then know the system going in." ***Beto***

It seems little has changed over the years. Advice from older generation Latinos was no different than from Latinos currently in school. No unusual distributions were found between ethnic groups, non-students and students, genders or generations. Furthermore, the advice was generic and consistent across the interview pool. As in the previous question, comments were recorded and grouped into thematic domains. The following five categories are listed in descending order by frequency and percentage of total responses. It does not necessarily imply an order of importance.

BUILD A STRONG SUPPORT SYSTEM	54	36%
SELF ASSESS AND PREPARE MENTALLY	48	32%
PLAN AHEAD	19	13%
SET AN EDUCATIONAL PLAN	16	11%
KNOW THE CULTURAL ISSUES	15	10%

Below, the same categories with comments are listed in a sequence suggesting what advice to consider before, during and at the end of the graduate experience. Some contain direct quotes for emphasis and flavor.

Plan Ahead

- **Get the big picture about graduate education.** Learn what graduate school is all about and how you get through it. Figure out the specific academic system (demands and expectations) and culture before you begin.

- **Get involved with research experiences early, at the undergraduate level if possible.**

- **Apply to a graduate program early, at least a year before you plan to enroll.** Study hard for the GRE, GMAT and other standardized tests.

- **Improve your language and writing skills.** *"Ninety percent of the requirements for graduate work depend on good writing and communication skills."*

- **Do your homework on graduate schools.** Don't apply blindly—be pro-active and learn about the graduate programs you would like to enter. Read catalogs, learn about faculty and programs, and find out what the academic expectations are. How does one get through successfully? What are the steps to accomplish? How much time does it take to get the degree?

- **Study the campus environment and choose a location or program where the people you will be with are supportive.** Get familiar with resources on campus and in the surrounding community. Visit the campus if possible.

Self Assess and Prepare Mentally

- **Know who you are and what you want.** Assess carefully why you want to go to graduate school. *"Find out what kind of knowledge and challenges you're interested in pursuing."* If single, consider carefully the implications and responsibility of committing to life partners or starting a family in graduate school.

- **Don't ignore your cultural heritage.** Maintain strength in being Latino. Avoid being assimilated, but learn academic culture and become aware of socio/cultural expectations. *"Get to know who you are, your culture, and why you think what you think. Graduate school is about philosophy, ideology and underlying thinking. If you can't get very deep with it you're going no where."*

- **Prepare mentally.** Be positive, focused, concentrated, disciplined, goal directed. You need perseverance, endurance, dedication to academics and hard work. If necessary, learn to be more aggressive, and hustle. Avoid drifting and being sidetracked into interesting, but time consuming areas of study. Develop a strong work ethic. Above all foster self-confidence and self-esteem. *"Most university programs . . . aren't designed to make you feel like you're really worth something, and not all the mechanisms used to move you through the systems are affirmative, they're punitive. You do come through in the end. . . ."*

Set An Educational Plan

- **Get your degree(s) quickly, and attend full-time if possible.** Keep in mind, the degree/thesis is merely an exercise to demonstrate you can accomplish original work within certain standards. It will not likely be your life's work.

- **Know what you really want to study.** Map out your academic program carefully with attention to course selection, timing and financial support.

- **Seek and develop clear research questions and objectives.** Set plans for dissertation/thesis early. If possible, focus course and seminar papers with a thesis topic in mind.

- **In the sciences, learn to select research on important topics.** Avoid becoming involved with research that could lead to a dead end.

Learn the best strategy within the departmental system to pick the best research advisor as soon as possible.

- **Learn to negotiate with faculty over research goals and objectives.** Discuss your interests diplomatically without jeopardizing the advisor/student relationship.

Build A Strong Support System

- **Develop a network of colleagues and a support group.** Avoid becoming isolated. Communicate with networks regularly and seek out other Latinos or culturally sensitive individuals.

- **Make sure family and friends are supportive.** Help them understand and adjust to the fact you will have to dedicate yourself for some time to academe. *"Develop some kind of support group, whether its with Latinos or not. But you can't isolate yourself."*

- **Don't hesitate to seek assistance from peers, faculty, anyone.** Avoid *"toughing it out. It's enormously important to have a peer group consisting of lots of different kinds of people. But this is not the time to pretend you're doing the rugged individualist routine."*

- **Cultivate faculty interaction and networks early.** Find supportive faculty both within and across departments. Overcome fear of higher authority, ask questions. Become involved with faculty and take the initiative. *"knock on some doors to meet professors."* . . . *"Our culture teaches us to hold back and to be noticed rather than to make ourselves noticed. Its not that you want to make yourself noticed, you can do it in a way that is not unpleasant. But you must somehow show the professors in your classes that you are truly interested in the topics."*

- **Seek faculty mentors early.** Seek out senior or emeritus faculty with time available to listen and assist. It helps if they are Latinos but they need only be sensitive to cultural issues.

- **Seek professional networks by joining discipline and Latino academic organizations.** NACS (National Association of Chicano Studies), SACNAS, *etc.* Get an account on the Internet to communicate with other Latinos professionally.

Know the Cultural Issues

- **Get to know your culture and take pride in it.** One can learn academic culture without loosing your own and assimilating. *"Don't be afraid to say you're Latino. I think that the biggest factor of success in graduate education is to have confidence, and self esteem. . . . If you're not proud of your identity or if you're ashamed of it in some way and you're trying to hide who you are, [school] will be very difficult. I say use it to your advantage."*

- **Achieving proficiency in one's English is vital as is improving language and writing skills.** Latino writing and communication style are characterized as reflecting bicultural background. *"Latinos can be verbose and wordy".*

- **Latinos may not be assertive enough.** If necessary, learn to overcome the reaction to withdraw in stressful situations. Be aware that others have self-doubts too.

- **Evaluate how you perceive and respect higher authority/professors.** *"Be aggressive about knowledge, ask questions, check it out and don't be intimidated by 'the experts."*

- **Become aware of the pros and cons of Latino specific research.** For some students in certain disciplines and departments, Latino research interests may not pose significant problems. But under other conditions, it may. Talk to faculty about this before you get started.

- **Capitalize on Latino cultural strengths. Positive and personal attitudes are important.** Develop personal relationships and take the time in the office or classroom to say hello to people and treat everyone with respect.

- **Prepare for academic culture.** There is a certain finessing that takes place, and Latinos from poorly educated parents aren't always aware of this until they enter graduate school. Today Latinos must learn to prepare themselves better for the middle class systems of the university.

- **Avoid self-imposed isolation.** This is related to Latino mistrust in a hostile environment. *"The fact is, most people in the system are out there to help and definitely not out to get you."*

- **Avoid trying to educate departments about Latino culture**. *"It's not your job to enlighten [*them*]. Get through [*school*] and once you get on the other side let them know what . . . [*these issues*] are. That's frustrating advice to give but I think it's advice that recognizes the realities of the system."*

FINAL COMMENTS

Many personal interviews with Latinos were compiled to produce this publication. By sharing their private experiences, these Latinos opened doors for others to see what is too often hidden from most of academe. One reader felt, "it was like eavesdropping on a private conversation." The stories were powerful and will no doubt constitute a basis for enhancing graduate education. Yet much information on topics about Latino faculty, non-academic careers, gender issues, ethnicity, and so on, were not included here. All the material, however, will be thoroughly analyzed and the findings presented in a future publication.

Nevertheless, a number of important points emerged from this study which deserve some attention. First, institutions take risks by choosing not to disaggregate information on ethnic populations, especially those historically "disadvantaged" and commonly clustered into homogenous groups such as "Hispanics." Important cultural and socioeconomic differences between Latino ethnic groups are masked by misconceptions generated by data that claims to demonstrate "minority" behavior. Even problems assumed common to all graduate students conceal critical information about conflicts between academic and Latino cultural values. Discerning these differences is vital to serving Latino students well. Unfortunately, opportunities to attract more Latinos to academe are often lost in generalizations about minority recruitment, retention, and completion patterns.

A second point is the importance of faculty among Latinos. Undergraduate faculty were a predominant factor encouraging Latinos toward graduate work. Barriers to accessing graduate programs still exist but can be surmounted with efforts by culturally sensitive faculty. Cultural conflicts within graduate schools could be minimized by faculty, departmental, and disciplinary reassessments of their academic cultures. Steady student financial support also was vital for attracting Latinos to academe and should be a cornerstone of any recruitment and retention program.

The importance of ethnic research among Latino populations was a significant finding in the study. Graduate schools transformed Latinos into new "ethnic groups" of faculty, administrators, and other professionals. This metamorphosis occurred in tandem with renewed or newly-found interests in their own ethnic issues. Latino scientists focused attention on personal commitments to the ethnic community, such as encouraging Latinos into doctoral research. For Latinos in other disciplines, ethnicity was a central component in their research agendas. Yet controversy surrounded the issue of Latino research. On one hand, some Latinos avoided the label of "Hispanic Scholar" for fear of "ghettoization." On the other hand, some Latinos encouraged ethnic research despite the consequences. In either case, the loci of conflict originated within the gap between Latino ethnic cultures and the academic subcultures within

departments, disciplines, and graduate institutions. At the end of the graduate experience successful Latinos learned to juggle their professional and cultural roles in order to minimize academic acculturation and to maximize a balance between their ethnic and professional identities.

Finally, the study suggests that stakeholders in graduate education are at a crossroad for change. If the cultural status quo is maintained, then it is very likely relatively few Latinos will continue to be attracted to graduate programs in the future. But if seeking a pathway to diversity is genuine and cultural reassessments are taken seriously, ethnic barriers within our graduate institutions will be revealed and become more amenable to change. If this occurs, it is likely that Latinos, as well as other underrepresented populations in the U.S., will be more attracted to this environment and begin entering our graduate schools in greater numbers.

APPENDIX

MASTER'S AND DOCTORAL DEGREE GRANTING INSTITUTIONS ATTENDED BY PARTICIPANTS IN THE LATINO PROJECT

The American University - D.C.
Arizona State University
Brown University
California State University - Fresno
California State University - Los Angeles
The Catholic University of America
Claremont Graduate School
Colombia University's Teachers College
Colombia University - New York
City University of New York - Stony Brook
Florida State University
The George Washington University
Georgetown University
Lehigh University
Louisiana State University
Marquette University
Pennsylvania State University
Pennsylvania State - Middletown
Princeton University
South West Texas - San Marcos
State University of New York - New Paltz
Stanford University
San Jose State
Stetson University
Texas A&M University - Kingsville
Texas A&M University
Texas Womans College
University of Arizona
University of California - Los Angles
University of California.- Berkeley
University of California - Davis
University of California - Santa Barbara
University of California - Santa Cruz
University of Colorado - Boulder
University of Florida - Gainesville
University of Houston
University of Iowa
University of Maryland - College Park
University of Miami - Miami, Florida
University of New Mexico - Albuquerque
University of North Texas
University of Pittsburgh
University of Puerto Rico - Rio Piedras
University of Southern California
University of Texas - Austin
University of Texas - Pan American
University of Texas - San Antonio
University of Virginia
University of Wisconsin - Madison
University of York - England
Yale University

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